New Cannon Book Excerpt: Reagan as Governor

california JOURNAL

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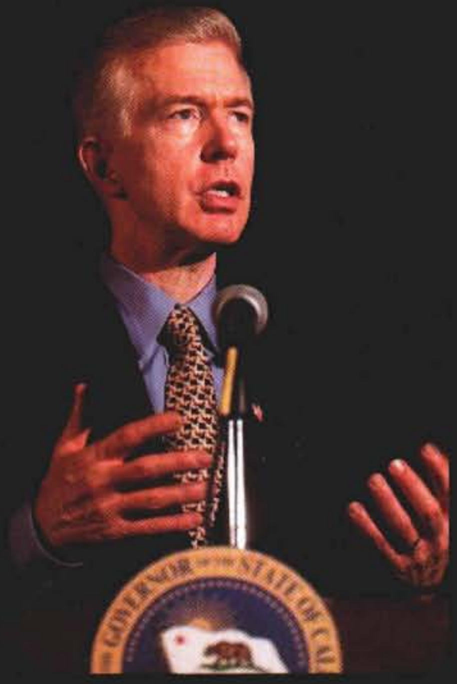
The amazing race



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Inside:

- The angriest voter since Prop. 13
- Hiram Johnson, father of the recall
- Complete election preview

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September 2003
Volume XXXIV, Number 9
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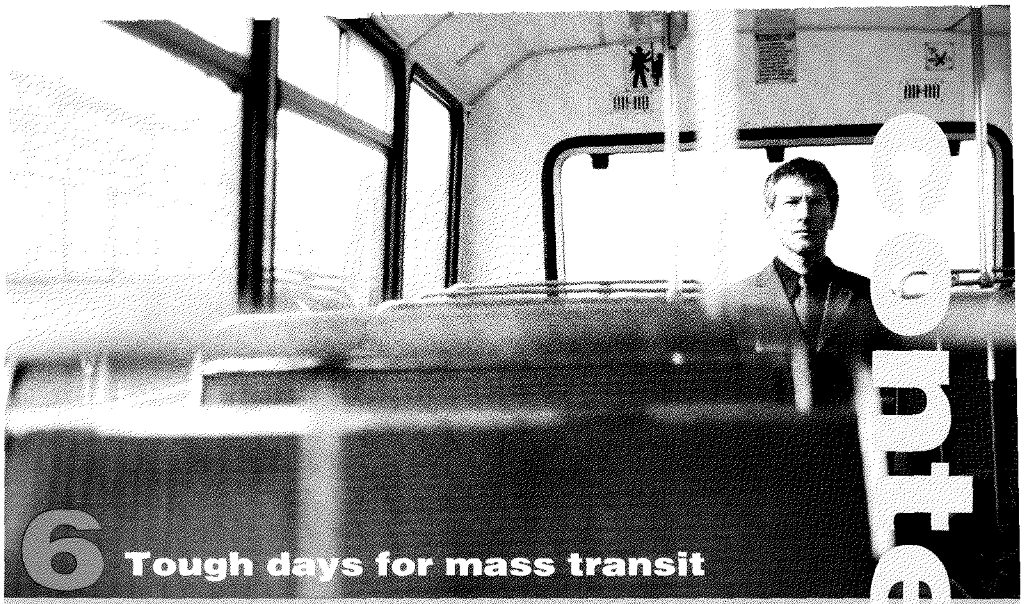

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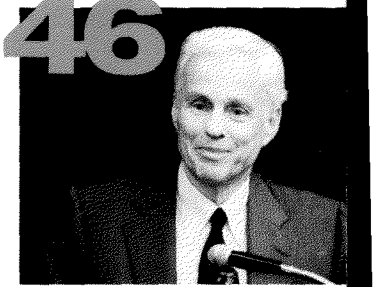

A new era

For the past 34 years, *California Journal* has enjoyed a special relationship with you, its community of readers, and that is why we want to share a glimpse of our future with you.

A foundation has provided us with a grant for a business plan designed to explore ways for the *Journal* to grow. To pursue this growth plan, State Net, which has owned the magazine for the past 13 years, is looking for new investment and new ownership for the *Journal*. This is part of a new direction for the magazine and currently is a work-in-progress, and we will keep you up-to-date on developments over the next few months. In the meantime, rest assured that the *Journal* will continue to provide you, its readers, with the kind of public-affairs journalism you have come to expect. In an information-saturated world, this magazine has become an indispensable source for policy makers and concerned citizens alike, and its role has never been more important than it is today.

— A. G. Block
Publisher

Cover: Governor Gray Davis (Reuters)
Clockwise: Cruz Bustamante, Arianna Huffington (Reuters), Bill Simon (Reuters), Peter Camejo, Arnold Schwarzenegger (Reuters), Tom McClintock, and, in the center, Peter Ueberroth.

umbrage

Alphabet soup: It seems you need a Ph.D. in statistics to figure out where each candidate for governor appears on the recall ballot. California law holds that not only does the order in which candidates appear have to be selected at random, but the order also rotates in every Assembly district. For the notable candidates, no one came out of the selection process with a serious advantage (if there's an advantage to be had). The names of Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante and Republican actor Arnold Schwarzenegger were fairly close together; the letter "B" was the 10th letter selected while "S" was picked 11th. That means the lieutenant governor's group will be listed first in a rural Sacramento County district (10, held now by a Republican), a northern Los Angeles County district (36, Republican) and a district that includes the city of San Bernardino (62, Democratic), and the actor's group — which also includes Republican businessman Bill Simon — will headline a slew of suburban districts in Contra Costa County (11, Democratic), Ventura County (37, Republican) and San Bernardino/Riverside County (63, Republican). Bustamante's group will be toward the bottom of the ballot in Democratic strongholds San Francisco and Los Angeles while Schwarzenegger's and Simon's group will be in the upper half of the ballot in Republican-heavy Placer County districts and the bottom half of Orange County ballots. Republican businessman Peter Ueberroth will be the first name on the ballot in the tony Los Angeles enclave of Brentwood, which is home to candidates Schwarzenegger and Arianna Huffington.

Summer of recall: For anyone who wondered whether the effort to oust Gray Davis from the governor's office was actually registering with Gray Davis himself, there's the matter of his judicial appointments. Well, maybe. Since July 21, two days before the recall was certified, Davis appointed 20 judges (as of August 15) to the bench. By comparison, it took the governor two months — March and April — to appoint 20 judges. The flurry of activity has Davis critics complaining that the governor is packing the courts before he's sent packing himself. Nonsense, say others — last year Davis appointed 23 judges in August and besides, governor's appointments always come in waves. As of August, there are six vacancies in California appellate courts and 33 in trial courts, say officials.

Will it work?: Perhaps the biggest wildcard in the historic October 7 vote on whether to recall Governor Gray Davis is how California's election infrastructure will work. When the recall was certified in July, state elections officials expressed fear that because they had so little time before the election — 80 days from certification — there was a chance that California could fall into the kind of chaos that rocked Florida during the 2000 presidential elections. California had already taken steps to eliminate that risk after the 2000 election by ordering new voting machines, but many workers in those districts have yet to be trained to use them. Worse, 44 percent of the Californians who voted in the last presidential elections live in the six counties — including Los Angeles and Santa Clara — that don't have the new machines and still rely on the controversial "punch-card" ballots. Never fear, Sen. pro Tem John Burton (D-San Francisco) said he would push legislation to give the counties some or all of the $66 million it will take to pay for the election. Burton said the money would help keep polling places open longer than usual and avoid closures.

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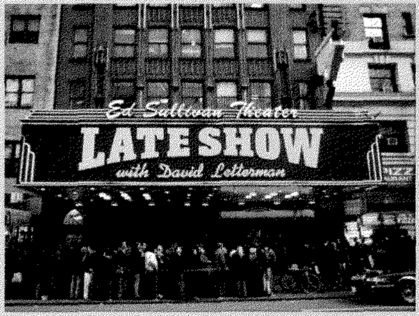
Recall Top 10:

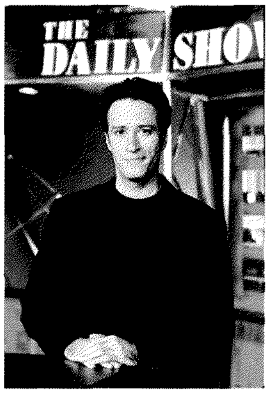
Top 10 Arnold Schwarzenegger campaign promises, from the "Late Show with David Letterman," August 7, 2003.



#10 To do for politics what he did for acting.
#9 Combine the intelligence of George Bush with the sexual appetite of Clinton.
#8 A heaping tablespoon of Joe Weider's dynamic body shaper in every pot.
#7 Every freeway gets a dedicated car chase lane.
#6 Seek advice from elder political statesmen like Jesse Ventura.
#5 Crack down on schools graduating students who can't bench press 180 pounds.
#4 Solemnly swear to support the constitution of Gold's Gym.
#3 Goofiest named governor since Pataki.
#2 Raise the minimum age for dating Demi Moore.
#1 Speak directly to the voters in clear, honest, broken English.

Comedic analysis:

From "The Daily Show" with Jon Stewart



Jon Stewart: Californians elected Gray Davis in November. He received over 3 million votes. Less than a year later, apparently it takes only 900,000 to trigger this recall.

Correspondent Stephen Colbert: That's right, Jon. All too often democratic elections are hijacked by the majority. But this recall is a chance to finally put the power in the hands of a fraction of the electorate. Not a minority — but a minority of the minority. It's a bold new electoral trend and like most trends, it's starting in California. Think of the fish taco.

Stewart: Obviously, the minority should have a voice. But doesn't it strike you as cynical that this petition drive is funded entirely by a politically motivated group of partisans led by this one rich mogul — Issa — who himself wants this job of governor?

Colbert: Jon, the founding fathers in their infinite wisdom foresaw a day when a small but incredibly pushy group of people would rise up nine months after an election in righteous indignation and say, "The guy in office isn't in my political party and that ain't right." But this is not only a vindication for the professional signature gatherers, Jon. This is also a vindication for the signature signers — those noble citizens passionate enough in their beliefs to casually sign something on a clipboard as they walked into a JC Penneys, through which they had to pass to get to their ultimate destination: the Orange Julius stand next to the Baby Gap.

Recall joke file:

For the rest of the U.S., California is comedy fodder

"This recall thing here in California has actually reached what they call critical mass. You know what that is? That means there are now more people registered to run for governor than there are registered to vote."

— Jay Leno

"So, as of today, we have Arnold Schwarzenegger, Gary Coleman, Gallagher the comedian, Larry Flynt, Angelyne. I don't know if it's an election or a bad episode of 'Hollywood Squares.'"

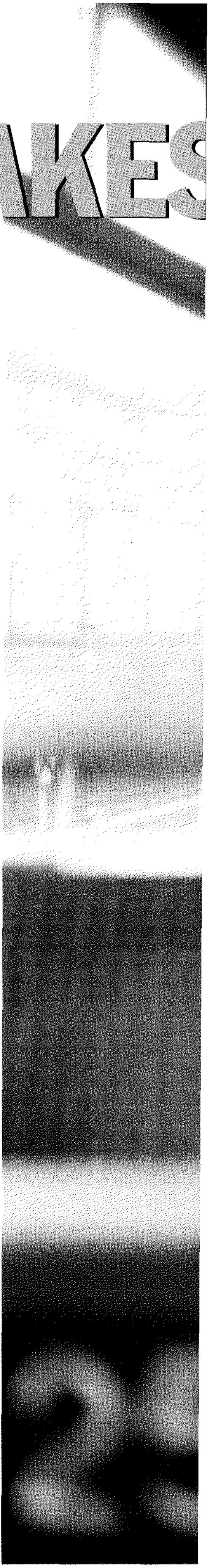
— Jay Leno

"Yesterday, Arnold Schwarzenegger announced he would run for governor of California. That's the news. Arnold's gonna run. Yeah. That's right. Yeah, the announcement was good news for Florida residents, who now live in the second flakiest state in the country."

— Conan O'Brien

MASS TRANSIT TAKES

For years, American cities have encouraged commuters to leave their cars and opt for mass transit. So far, there's not been much success. Now, with governments all over the U.S. facing bad budgetary times, struggling transit systems could face an even rougher road.



By Dana Wilkie

One morning this August, San Francisco Bay Area commuters started handing over $1.50 each for the privilege of riding the buses and rail lines serving their city. For that price — about 15 cents more than they were paying just a year ago — travelers are waiting longer between trains, taking longer walks to the nearest bus stop, making more transfers on their commutes, and riding some vehicles that aren't maintained as they should be.

These are tough times for the mass-transit systems, including the one that serves greater San Jose. Struggling with a $160 million budget deficit, the Santa Clara Valley Transportation Authority cut service three times in the last two years, raised the cost for bus and rail tickets for the second time in a year and, come this January, may cut one of every six routes from the network of light rails, buses, shuttles and Amtrak-like trains expected to carry 45 million passengers this year.

One could easily point to the economy — lost jobs, fewer commuters — as the reason for the agency's hard times. But that would only be a partial explanation. The recent troubles at the Valley Transportation Authority (VTA) illustrate how several forces have come together in recent years to rock mass-transit systems across the state and the country. Fewer commuters are one reason for the VTA's predicament, yes, but so are falling local sales tax revenues, state budget cuts, the high cost of transit projects, political pressure to spend more on congested roads, and lifestyles that — no matter what the economy — keep people in their cars.

"A great many people have convinced themselves that if you just build nice, fancy transit systems, people will get out of their cars and use it," said Robert Poole Jr., director of transportation studies

A BACK SEAT

Photo: Corbis

at the Reason Public Policy Institute in Los Angeles. "Sure, some people will use it. But enough to make a difference? There's just no evidence of that at all."

Since the 1960s, transportation officials have argued that if the public invests enough in transit, services will eventually be good enough to attract many "choice" riders — the target client who chooses to ride transit even though he or she has the time and money to drive. For decades, government at all levels funneled money into transit programs while urging Americans to use buses and trains to reduce air pollution and road congestion. The federal government spent $45 billion on mass transit during the 1990s, compared to $156 billion on highways. From 1999 to 2002, California spent $3.4 billion of state and federal money on transit, compared to $6.4 billion on highways.

The southern San Jose end of VTA's light-rail line is in the middle of the freeway. Photos in this article courtesy of transit-rider.com

But census data show that transit travel has remained flat for the past decade. More than three-quarters of Americans drove to work alone in 2000, up slightly from 1990. In California, 72 percent drove solo. Only about 5.6 percent of workers used transit, figures that were about the same in 1990.

Genevieve Giuliano, director of the Metropolitan Transportation Research Center at the University of Southern California, said the relatively low numbers of people using transit during commutes — a time when buses and trains can best ease pollution and congestion — do not yet justify transit's high costs.

"There are a lot of people who believe that ... if we simply stop building roads and let congestion get really bad, people will say, 'Ah ha! Maybe transit is not so bad and I'll get off the road,'" she said. "It hasn't happened yet."

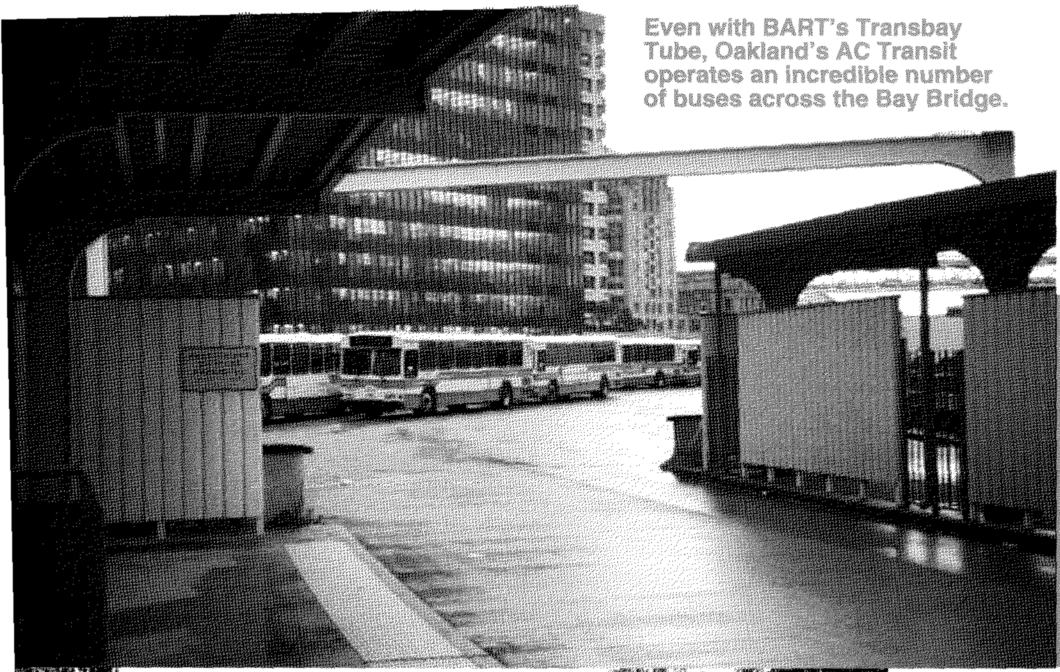
Transit advocates argue that census figures record only trips to and from work, not the 40 percent of transit rides taken by tourists, for instance, or by people heading to the mall. When all trips are considered, they argue, transit ridership increased by 22 percent from 1996 to 2001. California ridership rose by about 20 percent during the same six years, they say.

"We're making good investments, and all over the state, we're seeing promising signs in transit use," said California Department of Transportation Director Jeff Morales, who notes that lone driving has dropped in areas — such as San Francisco — with convenient and widespread transit. Census figures show that in San Francisco, 33 percent of commuters use transit, a figure that mirrors ridership in Boston and Chicago.

Convenience, or not?

But unless one lives in a similarly dense city where people live near their work and transit stations are plentiful and easy to reach, the car remains the easiest and fastest form of transportation for many Americans. Even in Los Angeles County, just 6.6 percent of commuters take transit, while 70 percent drive to work alone, census data show.

As people move farther from cities in search of afford-



Even with BART's Transbay Tube, Oakland's AC Transit operates an incredible number of buses across the Bay Bridge.

VTA's Component station stop shows lift for wheel chair accessibility.

able homes, public transportation either doesn't serve their new neighborhoods, or doesn't serve them well. In the suburbs, transit stations tend to be spaced far apart, making it more convenient to hop in the car than to get to the bus, train or light-rail station. Moreover, an increasing number of working parents use commutes to swing by the day-care center, the cleaners and the drugstore — a circuitous route that is impractical using public transit.

When one considers the time it takes to get to a station or bus stop, wait for the vehicle, wait during subsequent stops, and get from station to office, mass transit on average takes twice as long as the car, said Alan Pisarski, author of "Commuting in America."

"If I show you 50 cities in America with over 1 million people, almost every one would match this pattern," Pisarski said. "I think there is immense time pressure on people, and so they shift to the fastest mode of traveling, which is driving alone in your car."

This year, as Congress creates a new six-year plan for transportation spending, Republicans argue that money now spent on transit should instead go to the nation's highways. That possibility — along with cuts in the state budget this year — bodes poorly for transit systems that many considered the future for California's traveling public.

President George Bush wants Washington to put less into new local transit projects — only 50 percent of the cost, rather than the current 80 percent. Under one U.S. Senate plan, most of the federal gas tax now set aside for mass transit — about 2.8 cents of the 18.4 cents-per-gallon that motorists pay — would go to highways. Transit would be supported through bond sales. Such a move "would basically take away any guaranteed funding that exists right now for transit," said Amy Coggin, spokeswoman for the American Public Transportation Association.

> **"There are a lot of people who believe that ... if we simply stop building roads and let congestion get really bad, people will say, 'Ah ha! Maybe transit is not so bad and I'll get off the road.' It hasn't happened yet."**
>
> **— Genevieve Giuliano, Metropolitan Transportation Research Center**

"Transit is really playing catch-up, and the benefits of investment are only now becoming evident in increased ridership," Coggin said. The benefits would be more obvious, she said, "had the government invested even a fraction of what they had [put] into highways."

Expensive, and poorly planned

William Fay, president of the American Highway Users Alliance, an advocate for motorists and truckers, is not sympathetic. "What happens when we divert money to these horrendously expensive transit systems that don't work?" Fay asked. "The answer is very clear: It means less money for highways, and as a result, more [traffic] fatalities, traffic congestion and impacts on air quality."

Fay and others say many transit projects are so expensive and poorly planned that local taxes or government subsidies must supplement fares to keep them running.

Extending light-rail lines and subways into suburbs — now a popular project in San Diego and Los Angeles areas — are a good example, said Martin Wachs, director of the Institute of Transportation Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. They are expensive to build, he said, often difficult to get to or park at, and don't have enough stations near people's homes.

Three summers ago, for instance, the Red Line subway

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The Vermont/Santa Monica Metro Red Line station is located near Los Angeles Community College.

extension from the San Fernando Valley to downtown Los Angeles opened to great fanfare. The project, which came in about $450 million over budget, now carries just half the riders once promised, and there are frequent complaints that scarce parking at subway stations prevents more people from riding the line.

"Virtually no subways anywhere make a profit," Wachs said. "They almost all require substantial subsidies."

Some experts believe that political image often drives such projects more than economic considerations. Especially in California, where people tend to be conscious of the air quality and sick of crawling through traffic, city and state leaders embrace the notion that if they invest more in mass transit, more people will ride it, Pisarski said.

"In the 1960s, if you didn't have a freeway and you were a mayor, you couldn't hold your head up," Pisarski said. "Now, you're not a world-class city unless you have a subway."

Transit advocates acknowledge that some transit systems are not well-planned. But those that are, they say, can be a model for future transit investment. They suggest that government has been unwilling to put the money into transit that is necessary to help it flourish.

"This is a state that lives around its cars and highway systems," said Tony Rice, a lobbyist for the California Transit Association, which represents the state's 82 largest transit authorities. "But California is just not capable of sustaining great expansions in its highway systems any longer."

Rice and others point, for instance, to the El Monte Busway. During rush hour, this combination of car-pool and bus-exclusive lanes along Interstate 10 from El Monte to east of downtown Los Angeles carries the equivalent of five freeway lanes of ordinary traffic, at speeds that bypass the average car. "Nothing else comes close to that success anywhere in the country," said the Reason Institute's Poole.

Other success stories, experts say, include the Santa Monica Bus Company, which provides critical transportation for low-income people, and San Diego's plan to steer housing and services such as parks and libraries to urban areas near transit centers and jobs.

A few years ago, many considered the VTA a similar success. In the winter of 1999, the agency opened a light-rail line running from north San Jose to downtown Mountain View. Strategically located along dense housing developments and high-tech office yards, it became a remarkably convenient way for commuters to get from home to work. Six months after it opened, the Tasman West line was carrying more passengers than transit experts had expected for five years.

Funding gaps

But for the past 10 quarters, the VTA, which, like many California transit authorities relies heavily on a local sales tax, watched tax revenues decline, as well as subsidies from Sacramento. As the weak economy and dot-com demise hit the valley, the number of transit riders fell nearly 30 percent. The resulting shortfalls forced the VTA this summer to approve a budget that, come January 2004, will eliminate 17 bus routes, cut service along most light-rail routes, perhaps close two light-rail stations, and defer the

The Seventh Street Metro Red Line is the only station without high ceilings. The mezzanine is the transfer point for the Red, and the plaform is the Blue Line station.

expansion of two badly needed bus-maintenance yards. All of this unless the VTA can come up with other ways to close a $160 million budget hole.

"We are not alone in this," said Anne-Catherine Vinickas, a VTA spokeswoman. "We are seeing other transit organizations contemplating service reductions or fare increases."

And she is correct.

To help close a $50 million budget deficit, the Oakland area's AC Transit may eliminate or re-route service along 74 bus routes, scrap more than 200 bus driver and mechanic positions and do away with discount passes, including those for poor schoolchildren. To keep its budget from hemorrhaging, the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority recently approved its first fare increase in eight years for buses and trains. The Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) will raise fares this January and consider increases every two years to plug a $40 million budget hole. And the Santa Cruz transit district raised fares this summer on almost all its bus routes.

In fact, a survey this year by the American Public Transportation Association of the nation's largest transit districts discovered that 90 percent have raised rates or are contemplating it. One-third have cut services. And about one in five have dropped routes.

Politically incorrect as it may sound, Pisarski said, Washington's current battle over transportation spending gives Congress an opportunity to consider whether transit should be the priority it has been the past few decades.

"If we put as much into transit as we did in the 1990s, and the share of transit commutes has [stayed static], maybe we're not putting it into the right things," he said. "Maybe we should re-think the costly programs that we're investing in."

Vinickas insists that if transit is well planned, it can thrive no matter what the economic circumstances. She points out that one San Jose light-rail line that remains well-used features a central station strategically built around housing developments, a day-care center, free parking, and a supermarket and dry cleaner.

"In its infancy, the interstate highway system was not the success that it is today," she said. "We need to build complete transit systems before they can really be judged as to their effectiveness."

Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for Copley News Service and a contributing editor to California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

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The angry governor

Former California Governor Hiram Johnson once said, "the recall will be a pistol in the hands of the people." Today, the hot headed, angry governor wouldn't recognize the legacy he left in 1911 when championed California's recall and initiative laws.

By Martin F. Nolan

He is the iconic California politician. A two-term governor, he was elected five times to the U. S. Senate, serving 28 years, longer than any Californian. He was the prosecutor of graft in San Francisco, the scourge of the Southern Pacific Railway, twice a presidential candidate, and as close to a secular saint as his birthplace, Sacramento, venerates. Hiram Warren Johnson's legacy is a fact of everyday life because he introduced the initiative, referendum and recall to California.

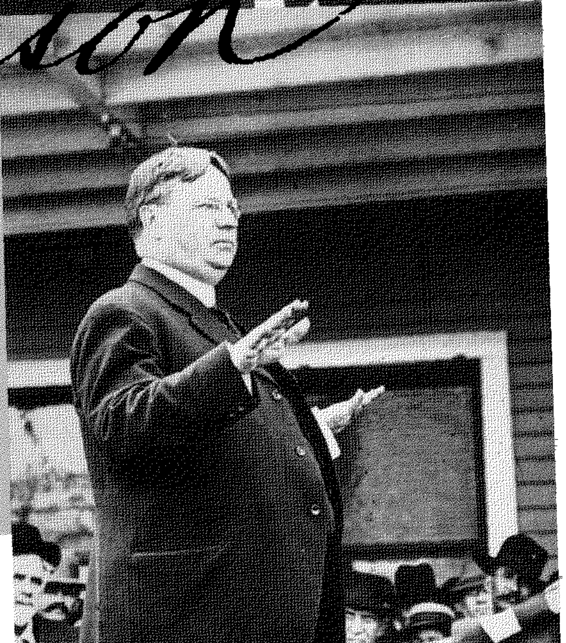
Few politicians today challenge this legacy. It is a sacred totem, a given, as are its unintended consequences: self-defeating programs, unfunded mandates, gridlock and chaos by plebiscite. Judged by his achievements in Sacramento and his longevity in Washington, Johnson was an accomplished politician. He was also hotheaded, obstructionist and self-righteous. In the Senate, he fiercely opposed international cooperation. Despite positive parts of his legacy, he was an angry, suspicious man. His anger and suspicions infect the constitution to this day.

Hiram Johnson made much of his pugilistic stance against the railroads, 1910.

Elected governor as a Republican in 1910, he was re-elected in 1914 as the Progressive Party candidate. He is still St. Hiram the Great, canonized by a convenient memory. He is remembered not as a grouchy xenophobe or the parochial paragon of well-off white male shopkeepers. No, his image persists as the blazing-saddles hero who tamed the railroad and insisted on "direct democracy," blitzing 23 amendments onto the constitution on a single day. In a special election on October 10, 1911, in a turnout of 60 percent, 178,115 Californians, almost two-thirds, voted for an amendment "providing for the recall by the electors of public officials." The recall notion was and is based on anger because Johnson was an irreconcilably angry man.

In 1910, the Southern Pacific employed more Californians, owned more land and owned more politicians than any other entity. In his campaign for governor, Johnson promised to "kick the SP out of politics." He succeeded, clearing the track for bills on child labor, the eight-hour workday, workers' compensation, and other legislation that his admirer, Theodore Roosevelt, called "the most comprehensive program of constructive legislation ever passed

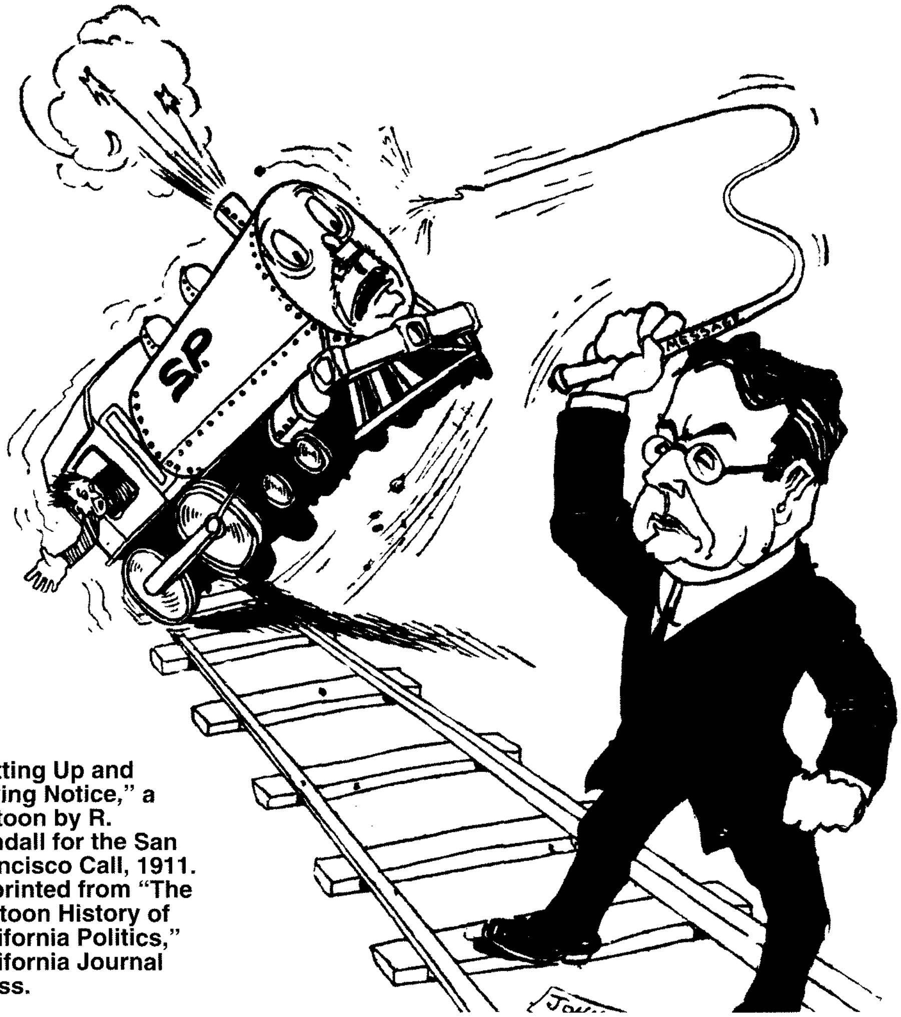
Hiram W. Johnson



Clockwise: Two portraits of Hiram Johnson, circa 1910-1916. Senator William Edgar Borah and Hiram Johnson presented a strong isolationist block in the Senate, 1919. Johnson campaigning for governor out of his red Locomobile, 1914. Photos: Bancroft Library

at a single session of an American legislature." Because these programs passed at the same time does not mean they are of equal value. Johnson's battles against the SP form the Iliad and Odyssey of California's tribal memory, the epic wars that defined the young 20th century.

Discussing his direct-democracy devices, Johnson was no philosopher and no Jeffersonian. He did not warn, as Jefferson did in the Declaration of Independence, against change for "light and transient causes." He did not suggest, as Jefferson did in 1787, that "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with



"Sitting Up and Taking Notice," a cartoon by R. Randall for the San Francisco Call, 1911. Reprinted from "The Cartoon History of California Politics," California Journal Press.

the blood of patriots and tyrants." To Johnson, the recall was a practical matter. His business metaphors were familiar to his audience. On the eve of the 1911 special election, he told a San Francisco crowd, "If you employ a man in your private business and find that he is corrupt or not satisfactory, you will discharge him. What you do in your private capacity as individuals you ought to be able to do in your public capacity as citizens."

Is Hiram Johnson an appropriate role model for the 21st century? He would not recognize today's California, nor its values and attitudes. Tolerance? The Johnson era was a Puritan paradise. Racetracks were closed and 1,000 saloons shuttered by a state version of Prohibition. The Pacific Rim? Johnson, who signed anti-Asian legislation, might have thought it held a tire on his red Locomobile, in which he campaigned for governor, shunning the railroad. Diversity? Johnson's followers were mostly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant men who ran small and middle-sized businesses. They hated the SP not out of civic duty, but because the railroad was gouging them. In 1912, after Governor Johnson replaced a corrupt railroad commission, the SP's customers enjoyed reduced fees and fares totaling more than $2 million.

In the coolness of the Capitol basement in Sacramento, Johnson is honored twice every hour in a film, "California Visions." Tourists, students and others watch Jennifer wander away from her field-trip schoolmates into another Capitol corridor and another century. She chats with stereotypes of history: a Gold Rush prospector, an Italian sign-painter, an Irish washerwoman and, in one alcove, an avuncular chap shaving his pleasantly chubby face. Before a mirror, rehearsing a speech about "each citizen's responsibility to stay involved," stands Hiram Johnson, the only real person in the film. After Jennifer rejoins her group and her century, the teacher says, "Your Capitol is not just a museum to the accomplishments of the past but a living institution that depends on your involvement." The 2001 movie is propaganda for California's self-admiring, men-to-match-my-mountains attitude.

In the 2003 recall campaign, proponents and opponents have cited Johnson. "Once we had giants in the governor's office," wrote former San Jose Mayor Tom McEnery, advocating recall in his hometown *Mercury News*, "men like the crusading district attorney, Hiram Johnson." Gray Davis, target of the recall, said in his 2002 inaugural address, "I am humbled and inspired to be standing in the footsteps of giants like Hiram Johnson, Earl Warren, Ronald Reagan and Pat Brown."

Unlike this gregarious pantheon, Johnson was not cooperative or skilled at compromise. Nor was he was the smiling, benign figure Jennifer encountered. He called himself "A Bloc of One," the title of Richard Coke Lower's 1993 biography, subtitled "The Political Career of Hiram W. Johnson." He did not share the confident optimism of Warren, Reagan or Pat Brown. He more closely resembled Richard Nixon and, alas, Gray Davis. According to Lower:

"Johnson shared with his father not only a fighter's determination and an eagerness to personalize political contests and call into question the character of his foes, but also a jealous nature, a mercurial temperament, petulance, insensitivity to others, and self-absorption in any campaign he waged."

When it came to negative campaigning, Johnson could rattle the rafters. After Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times* attacked him in his race for governor in 1910, Johnson responded with an outburst William Safire cites in his "Political Dictionary" under "invective." "In the city from which I have come we have drunk to the very dregs the cup of infamy; we have had vile officials; we have had rotten newspapers," Johnson told a crowd of 3,000 in Los Angeles, but

"we have nothing so vile, nothing so low, nothing so debased, nothing so infa-

> **"While I do not by any means believe the initiative, the referendum, and the recall are the panacea for all our political ills, yet they do give to the electorate the power of action when desired, and they do place in the hands of the people the means by which they may protect themselves." — Hiram Johnson**

mous in San Francisco, nor did we ever have, as Harrison Gray Otis. He sits in senile dementia, with gangrened heart and rotting brain, grimacing at every reform, chattering impotently at all things that are decent, frothing, fuming, violently gibbering, going down to his grave in snarling infamy. This man Otis is the one blot on the banner of Southern California; he is the bar sinister upon your escutcheon. My friends, he is the one thing that all Californians look at, when, in looking at Southern California, they see anything that is disgraceful, depraved, corrupt, crooked and putrescent — that is Harrison Gray Otis."

Hiram Johnson knew how to stay on message.

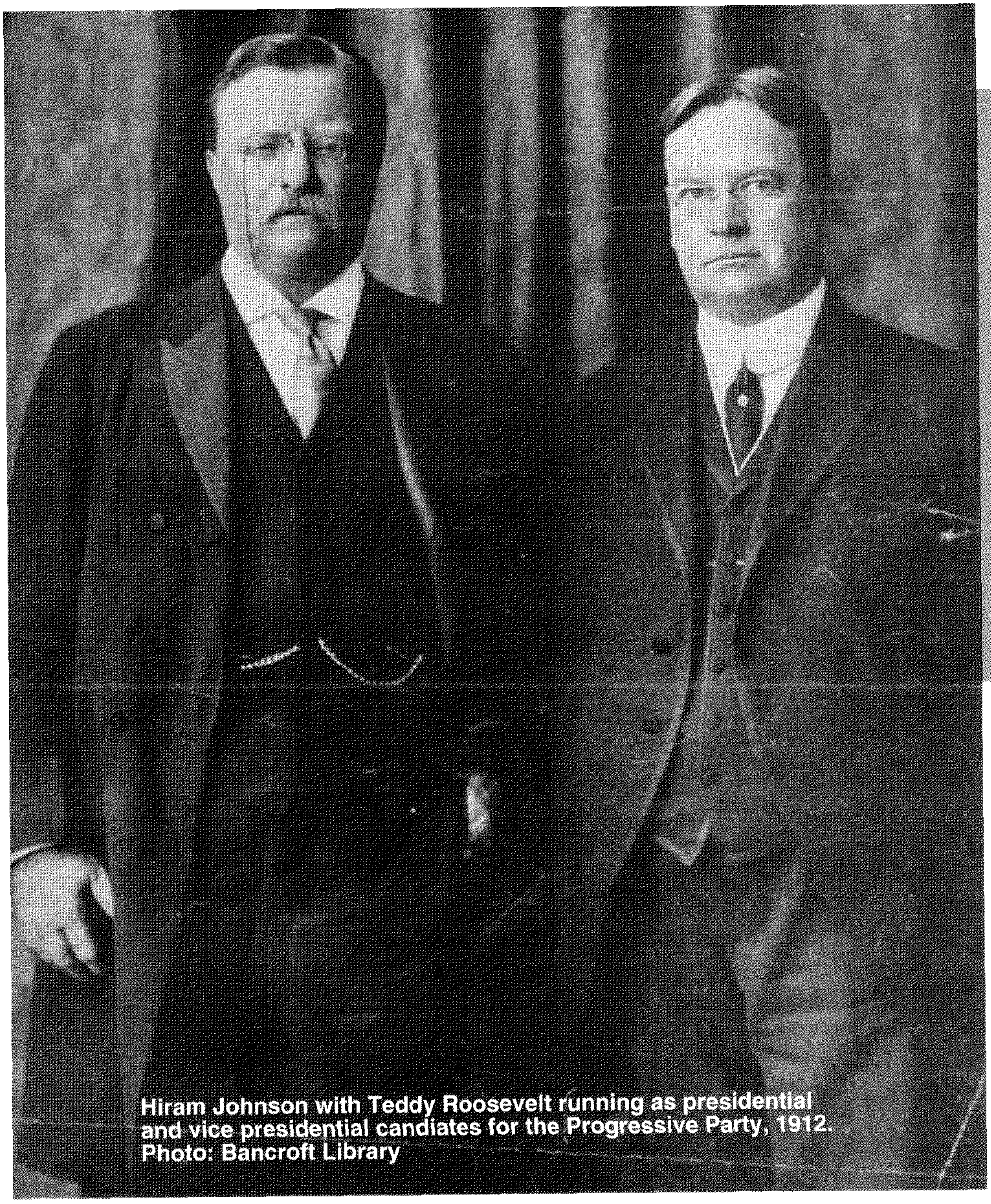
Born in Sacramento in 1866, Johnson often spoke in Wild West gunplay lingo. "How best can we arm the people to protect themselves hereafter?," he asked in his inaugural speech in 1911. "While I do not by any means believe the initiative, the referendum, and the recall are the panacea for all our political ills, yet they do give to the electorate the power of action when desired, and they do place in the hands of the people the means by which they may protect themselves." Arming the people was no metaphor in Johnson's youth. In "The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens," the muckraking journalist told of a political meeting in Sacramento where "Grove L. Johnson, a well-known attorney in the town, walked in with his two sons, Albert and Hiram, both little more than boys, and both carrying revolvers."

In 1910, California had 2.4 million people. With 343,000, San Francisco was its largest city, three times larger than Los Angeles. California had 10 electoral votes, ranking 20th among the 46 states. As a Republican, Johnson won with 46 percent of the vote. (A Socialist Party candidate won more than 12 percent.)

Johnson's success made him famous. Former President Theodore Roosevelt asked the Californian to be his vice presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket in 1912. After T.R. died in 1919, Johnson ran as a Republican for president in 1920. He won more primary votes than any other candidate, but at a 10-ballot convention, party bosses in the original "smoke-filled room" in Chicago's Blackstone Hotel chose Warren G. Harding of Ohio. They offered the vice-presidential nomination to Johnson, who rejected it. Had he taken it, he would have been president. Harding died at San Francisco's Palace Hotel in 1923.

After his election to the Senate in 1916, Johnson precipitated a crisis in Sacramento. He wouldn't leave. He enjoyed being governor and distrusted the lieutenant governor, William D. Stephens, a congressman and former mayor of Los Angeles. After Stephens threatened legal action, Johnson resigned on March 15, two months behind schedule. "I don't want to leave here," he told a political ally. "This is where whatever in my life that had been worthwhile has occurred." Foreign policy was a dominant issue during World War I. Johnson had no international experience before being

Hiram Johnson on the way to the courthouse to take over the prosecution of Abe Reuf after the first prosecutor is shot, 1908. Photo: Bancroft Library.



Hiram Johnson with Teddy Roosevelt running as presidential and vice presidential candiates for the Progressive Party, 1912. Photo: Bancroft Library

He was proud to be
"irreconcilables,"
those whom Woodrow
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He opposed the U.S.
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"the wickedest piece
that has

elected to the Senate and acquired little thereafter.

Like John Podsnap, the Dickens character in "Our Mutual Friend," he thought other countries were a mistake. One target in his first senatorial years was the League of Nations. He was proud to be one of the "irreconcilables," those whom Woodrow Wilson called a "little band of willful men." He opposed the U.S. entry into World War II as well, calling the Lend-Lease Act "the wickedest piece of legislation that has ever been presented." One of his last votes in the Senate in 1945 was against the United Nations.

The word "progressive" today sometimes substitutes for "liberal" among Democrats and "moderate" among Republicans, but as George Mowry's 1951 work, "The California Progressives," points out:

"Hiram Johnson had never been moderate on any issue. His position on the League of Nations was to be no exception. He saw behind it a gigantic scheme to sell out America to the British or Japanese. By its adoption he felt that the international bankers would inherit the world and make billions. The war itself, he believed, has really been no concern of ours, and neither was the peace."

Progressivism has lasted longer as a euphemism for liberalism than did the Progressive Party. But Progressivism was often neither moderate nor liberal. With the same energy with which Hiram Johnson battled the Southern Pacific, Progressives fought big-city bosses and labor unions. In his sweeping history of the Progressive Era, Richard Hofstadter, in "The Age of Reform," noted that "Wherever labor was genuinely powerful in politics — as it was, for instance, in San Francisco, a closed-shop town where labor for a time dominated the local government — Progressivism took on a somewhat anti-labor tinge."

Kevin Starr, author of a masterful, multi-volume saga of the state, explains how Johnson's popularity did not extend to working stiffs. In his second volume, "Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era," Starr writes:

"The Teamsters' strike of 1901, pitting as it did reformers against labor, underscored an incompatibility that could never be overcome. Even Hiram Johnson, who had represented the Teamsters for eight years, was never truly popular with the working classes of San Francisco. When Johnson ran for vice president alongside Theodore Roosevelt on the 1912 Progressive ticket, the South of Market San Francisco working classes voted overwhelmingly in favor of Democrat Woodrow Wilson. Johnson, for his part, never felt fully at home with his Teamster clients. Throughout his career as a labor lawyer, he managed to maintain impeccable ties with the San Francisco business establishment. Johnson's attitude was typical of the California Progressives, whose legal and professional orientation gave them

one of the

Wilson called a
of willful men."
entry into World War II
Lend-Lease Act
of legislation
ever been presented."

little in common with wage-earners."

Writing in 1955, Richard Hofstadter wrote that "a large part of the Populist-Progressive tradition has become sour, become illiberal and ill-tempered." He does not say that Johnson embodied such traits, but his description of the dilemma of "reform" could not find a more vivid symbol:

"Such tendencies in American life as isolationism and the extreme nationalism that usually goes with it, hatred of Europe and Europeans, racial, religious and nativist phobias, resentment of big business, trade unionism, intellectuals, the Eastern seaboard and its culture — all these have been found not only in opposition to reform but also at times oddly combined with it."

In California's esteem, Johnson's years in Sacramento outweigh his decades in Washington. He has even escaped the scrutiny of the pedants of political correctness who swooningly declare themselves shocked, shocked to discover that Thomas Jefferson owned slaves or Franklin Roosevelt smoked cigarettes. By today's standards, Johnson was cynical and biased. Like other frustrated "reformers," he sought scapegoats, according to his entry in the 1999 edition of American National Biography:

"The failure of Roosevelt's campaign nationally produced several repercussions in California. Reasoning that Roosevelt had lost some support in California for appearing insufficiently hostile to Asian immigration, Johnson and his supporters strengthened their own anti-Asian credentials by approving a 1913 law designed to prevent Asian immigrants from owning land."

Carey McWilliams, who wrote about underdogs in California, compared Johnson not to Theodore Roosevelt but to Dennis Kearney, the rabble-rouser who gathered crowds on San Francisco sandlots in 1877 to demand that "The Chinese Must Go." In his 1949 work, "California: The Great Exception," McWilliams wrote:

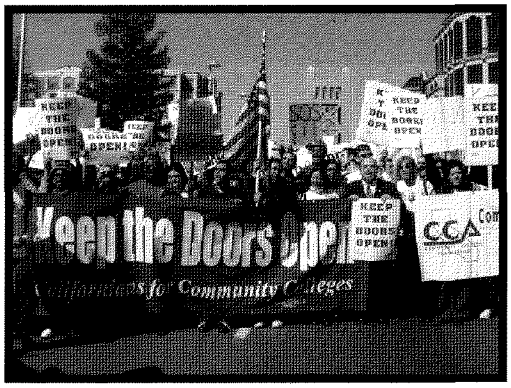
"Johnsonism resembled Kearneyism, but Johnson was an abler and far more intelligent demagogue than Kearney. Both movements came out of nowhere, achieved swift and spectacular success in approximately the same period of time; relied upon the same technique — independent political action; and, once their initial objectives were achieved, vanished with the swiftness that they had come to power. Most of the reforms of the Johnson regime were crowded into the period from 1910 to 1916. Kearneyism, the rise of the Labor Union Party, and the Johnson revolt alike vitiated by an unprincipled demagogic manipulation of the feeling against Orientals; by and large, the reform leaders of the Johnson era were racists, including Johnson himself."

On a hillside above El Camino Real in Colma, where many San Franciscans are buried, stands his impressive marble tomb in Cypress Lawn Cemetery. Johnson's epitaph includes a quote from Rudyard Kipling: "The people, Lord, Thy people, are good enough for me." Some of them, anyway. H. L. Mencken had his doubts about Johnson, calling him "a great lover of the plain people, but always stopping short of suicidal fondness." Mencken prophetically wrote in 1916: "Democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want, and deserve to get it good and hard."

In 1903, Frank Norris wrote "The Octopus," a novel about the Southern Pacific. In 1911, the recall, initiative and referendum helped subdue the SP.

Governor Davis and state legislators:
thank you for helping to keep the doors open.

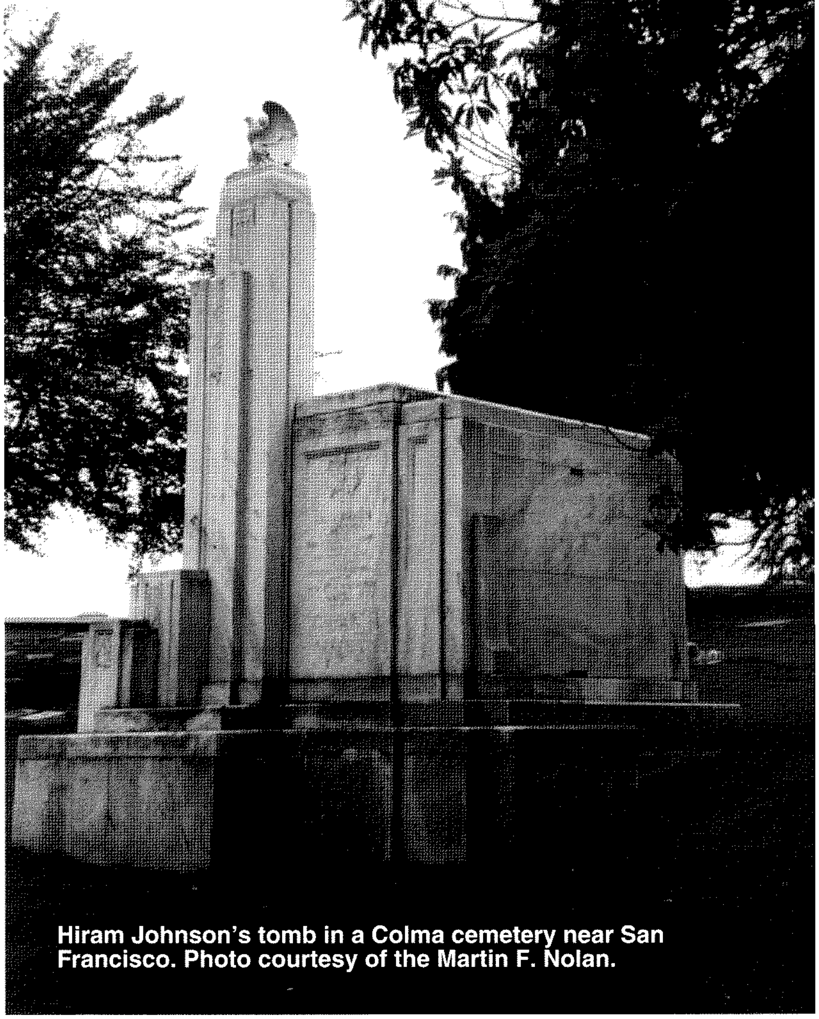
This year, the state's budget crisis threatened access to college for the 2.9 million Californians who annually enroll in one of California's 108 community colleges.



Governor Davis and legislators were able to craft a budget plan that avoided the impending crisis facing our colleges without a state budget.

With over $133 million in program cuts, $200 million in state-mandated increased costs and increased student fees, it's going to be a difficult year to serve all who need to served in our community colleges. However, working together, we'll do our best to keep the doors open.

California Community Colleges
Keeping the doors open since 1910.
A message from the Community College League of California.



Hiram Johnson's tomb in a Colma cemetery near San Francisco. Photo courtesy of the Martin F. Nolan.

The menace in today's Sacramento is more like Hydra, the monster of Greek mythology who grew back two heads for every one its foes cut off. In the Capitol, a marauding special interest on any given day might be the banks or the plumbers' union, replaced the next day by the prison guards' union or the insurance lobby. In myth and in the movies, Hydra eventually fell to Hercules, (portrayed by Arnold Schwarzenegger in "Hercules in New York," the 1970 classic co-starring Arnold Stang).

A legislature, an experienced legislature, is better than Hiram Johnson's ballot devices, which lost their innocence and their usefulness decades ago, as Governor Pat Brown said of the initiative process in a message to the Legislature in 1965. "In recent years, it has often been used to turn the ballot into a field for jousting among public-relations men wearing the colors of special interests," Brown said. "I believe legislation is needed to prevent special interests from turning the initiative to private gain through the use of professional petition circulators and large sums of money. If such a law can be written, I will support it." Five governors and 38 years later, change seems unlikely.

In 1911, under a headline "California May Become the Laughing Stock of the Country," the *San Francisco Chronicle* editorialized against the recall, saying, "A state will be well governed when its people desire to be well governed and are willing to exercise the necessary vigilance. We can elect competent and honest legislatures." At the Dreamland Rink in San Francisco on the eve of the election, Johnson replied before a crowd of 4,000, saying "The recall will be a pistol in the hands of the people."

In defining direct democracy, was Johnson a straight shooter? "The opponents of direct legislation and the recall, however they may phrase their opposition, in reality believe the people can not be trusted," he said in 1911. But Johnson placed his trust not in a majority of voters but, according to the election laws of 1914, "at least 12 percent of the entire vote cast at the last preceding election," enough angry voters to start a recall.

Just as the Southern Pacific no longer owns the Legislature, Johnson would not recognize his legacy. His checks and balances have become weapons of mischief and revenge. He could not have foreseen amateur grass roots corrupted into Astroturf. Nor could he have anticipated a recall signature drive bankrolled by an ambitious millionaire. Johnson might not recognize his "pistol" today. Like his other weapons, it has been used in too many drive-by shootings. The recall was designed to intimidate a 19th century railroad. In the 21st century, it belongs not on millions of ballots, but in the California State Railroad Museum in Old Sacramento.

Martin F. Nolan, former Washington bureau chief and editorial page editor for The Boston Globe, *lives in San Francisco. Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

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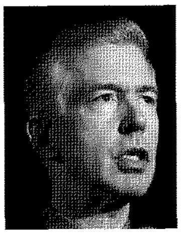
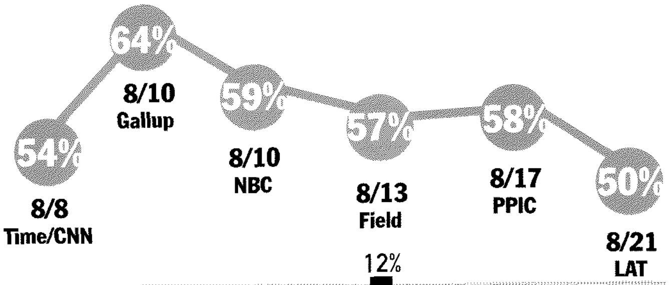
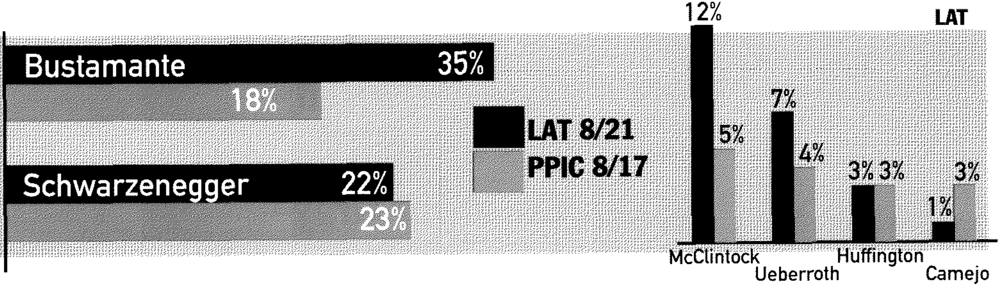
Support for California's first gubernatorial recall



Like others, pollsters are trying to navigate uncharted political waters. Surveys agree on sentiment behind the recall, but it's much harder to tell who will vote and who will win.

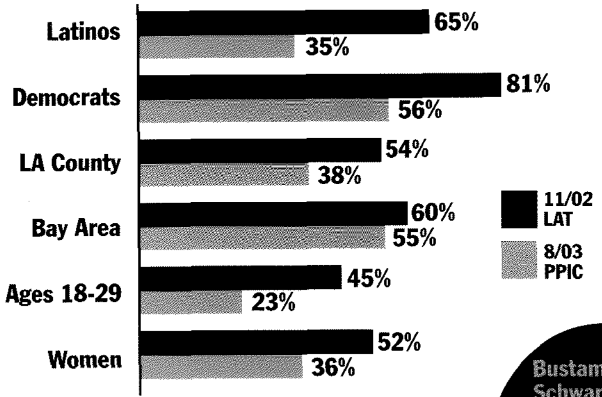


Two polls, two winners

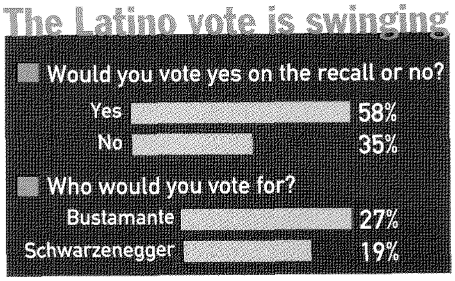


Davis slipping

Gov. Davis is losing broad support with a significant drop among Latinos and a small drop in the Bay Area. This chart compares the LA Times exit poll from last November's election to the August survey by PPIC.



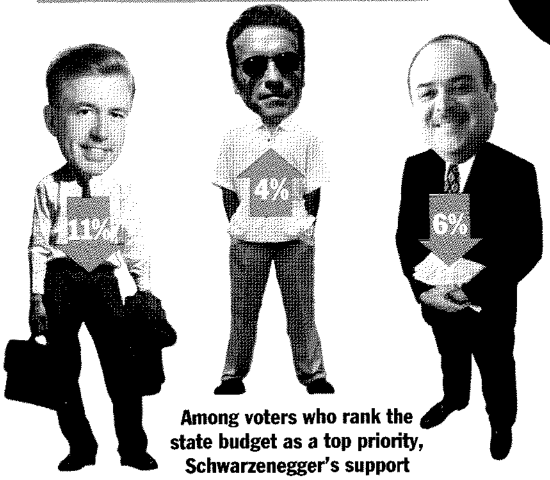
The Latino vote is swinging



Bustamante and Schwarzenegger evenly split the voters who rank education as the top priority

19% ea.

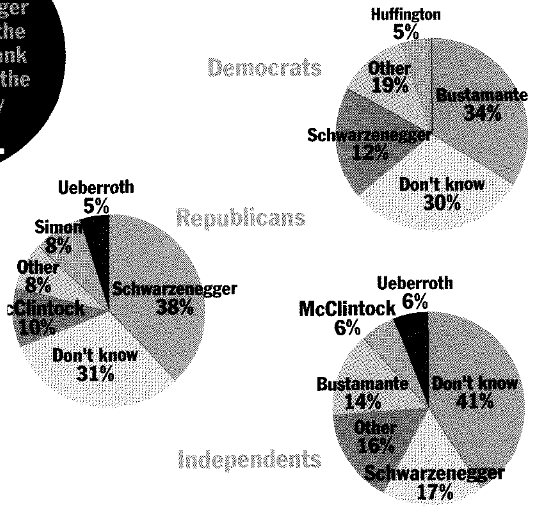
Budget fallout



Among voters who rank the state budget as a top priority, Schwarzenegger's support increases while Bustamante and Davis drop.

Party politics

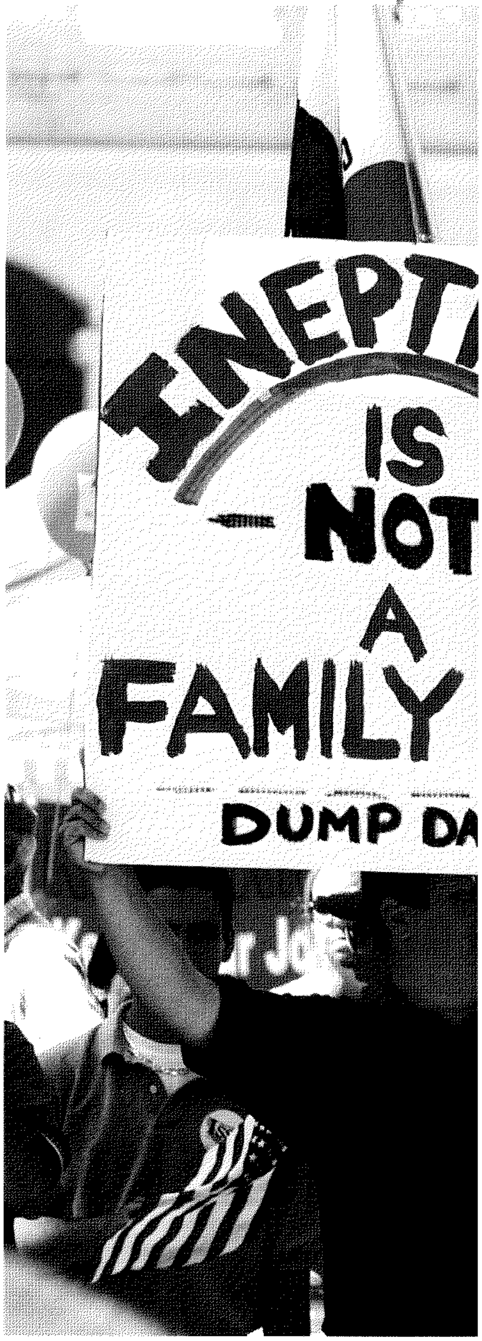
The key to the race is unity or division in the Republican and Democratic parties. PPIC's survey suggests a tight race with Bustamante and Schwarzenegger splitting the indepedent vote and each gaining just a third of their own parties.



Most of the information on this page is from the Public Policy Institute of California's Statewide Survey, directed by Mark Baldassare. It contacted 2,001 California adults 8/8-8/17. It has an error margin of +/-2.5% for registerd voters. Other surveys on this page include the LA Times, the Field Institute, NBC News, Gallup and Time/CNN.

**Polls were taken before Simon dropped out of the race.*

THE RISE OF THE VOTERS



The anger behind this year's unprecedented recall goes beyond its target, Governor Gray Davis. Now that the electorate has been empowered with new tools, will it change the course of democracy — as it has before?

By David Lesher

Pat Caddell has seen voter anger. He was the pollster for President Jimmy Carter in 1980 when voters swept in the Reagan Revolution. And he's counseled anti-establishment rock-throwers like Gary Hart, Jerry Brown and Ross Perot. This time, he said about the recall of 2003: "It's real."

"You've let this genie out of the bottle and God only knows what will happen when democracy gets a bit in its mouth," he said. "This is the culmination of something that's been boiling for some time, and it's not unusual that California is leading the way. It will scare the hell out of the politicians because they are about to find out who is in charge."

Political seismologists like Caddell are picking up the signs of a major shakeup on the horizon. It isn't just about Governor Gray Davis and it "isn't just another garden variety brush fire," as Democratic pollster Paul Maslin put it. It's deeper and broader than that. It's a feeling that "they are shut out of the system and nobody is representing them,"said GOP strategist Don Sipple. It's on display in California, but the angry tremors also are seen nationally in the unexpected grassroots surge for Democratic presidential contender Howard Dean.

America's pulse has been racing since the September 11 terrorist attacks, and its fear has been heightened by the global instability of war in Afghanistan and Iraq. Workers are concerned about the economy, but they're also outraged by a

The Amazing Race: *August Recap*

Perhaps the worst 24 hours in the long career of Governor Gray Davis began in the early evening on August 6. Barely three days remained until the deadline for candidates to enter the recall and, so far, it was shaping up as a winnable race for the embattled governor. Then, superstar Arnold Schwarzenegger defied expectations and announced his candidacy on "The Tonight Show with Jay Leno." Hours later, Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante defied orders from the top Democratic leadership and entered the race, followed closely by Democratic Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi. Once again, Davis looked like road kill. In all, 135 candidates qualified for the recall ballot and the start of the race looked like a chaotic jumble. Garamendi dropped out quickly. Schwarzenegger went into hiding to gather his strategy and team. Bustamante feuded publicly with Davis and conservatives were torn between businessman Bill Simon and state Senator Tom McClintock. Meanwhile, exotic choices like independent Arianna Huffington and tabloid entries from the porn industry fed the media's label of a "circus." Polls were inconsistent, but focused on a Bustamante-Schwarzenegger race. Eventually, Schwarzenegger launched a television ad and won credit for his performance in an anything-goes press conference. And Simon helped by dropping out. But as the race took form, the key was party unity. If Democrats fell behind Davis or Bustamanate, they'd win. In the GOP, Schwarzenegger needed party unity so he could focus on voters elsewhere.

HE'S NO LEADER—
TERMINATE DAVIS
IT'S ONLY HUMANE
PELOSI says — DAVIS IS TOAST!
www. YES ON RECALL .com
VALUE
IS!

Recall supporters demonstrate at the state Capitol. Photo: Juston Sullivan, Getty Images, 7/26/03.

corruption scandal on Wall Street that dashed the retirement plans for thousands of employees even as it paid millions to the corporate chiefs.

In Sacramento, voters have tensed in the last year over stories about lobbyist-paid trips to Hawaii, luxury state cars for politicians, top-level firings for an influence-peddling scandal and more news that the costly energy crisis was avoidable. Meanwhile, lawmakers cut spending for education and health care, but hard-line posturing by Democrats and Republicans forced them to borrow more than half the money for a $38 billion deficit.

Even the sponsors of the recall petition say they've tapped into something that goes far beyond Davis. He's blamed in part for the latest budget problems and the energy crisis. But polls also show record-low approval for California legislators as well as leaders in other states. Voter outlook is also at historic lows. Just three years ago, 62 percent of Californians said the state was moving in the right direction. Today, an even higher percentage believe it's headed in the wrong direction.

"The budget deficit clearly precipitated the anger," said Sal Russo, a Republican consultant to the recall effort. "But then it was like pulling a thread on a sweater. The more [voters] thought about it, the more they realized how bad the schools were and that there weren't enough jobs and that they were stuck in traffic and that it was smoggy. Gray Davis is the titular head, and he gets the brunt of it, but this is really an indictment of the whole process."

In some measures, polls have never found this much disaffection. Today, while 58 percent believe the state is in recession, a record four in five disapprove of Davis and the Legislature. What's fascinating for political watchers is that democracy provides voters with plenty of power that they rarely — if ever — use. Now, they're about to. Voters, particularly those laid-back Californians, aren't sitting back anymore and blankly watching the political process as if it's a bad sitcom. This time, they picked up the closest weapon in reach — a recall.

For nearly a century, even through depression, war, riots, scandal and grassroots uprisings, Californians have had the power to recall their officers, but they've never used it. So the question for California's future — and perhaps the nation's — is whether these angry voters are venting a momentary frustration or whether they're leading a rebellion that is years in coming.

Listen to the opening lines of the television commercial that introduced actor Arnold Schwarzenegger as a candidate for governor and it's clear that all of the internal polls, focus groups and expert analsyis in the GOP are measuring the kind of grassroots anger that has fueled times of political change.

"This historic election has come about because there is a tremendous disconnect between the people of California and the leaders of California," Schwarzenegger says, facing a camera and walking toward a wood-paneled office. "We, the people, are doing our job: working hard, raising our families and paying taxes. But the politicians are not doing their job."

Sipple, the veteran Republican media consultant who made the ad, is using language from the American Revolution to reach a voter who may not have participated in politics before. Perhaps the viewer knows Schwarzenegger from his movies, but the ad maker's hope is that the candidate will strike a chord with his understanding that voters have lost touch with Sacramento and that politicians

THE CANDIDATE STAMPEDE

There are 135 candidates targeting 15 million California voters. If the recall passes, the next governor will be determined by how the pie is sliced.

By A.G. Block

A conventional election is a horse race, with two candidates pounding around the track *a la* Seabiscuit and War Admiral, both running in the same direction and aiming at the same wire — the most votes from an electorate that must choose mostly between the two of them.

"This is not a conventional election," deadpans state Senator Tom McClintock, the Thousand Oaks Republican now among 135 candidates on the ballot to replace besieged incumbent Governor Gray Davis.

A bit of understatement to be sure, but right on the mark. The 2003 election is the Oklahoma Land Rush more than a horse race, with contestants galloping off in all directions to find the most fertile soil from which to reap votes. With so many pretenders elbowing for support, the winner could assume office with less than 30 percent of the vote.

Not all candidates have the money, campaign resources and name recognition to compete seriously, however. Only four make the "A" list, but that is a big enough field to scramble tradition: Democratic Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante, Republicans McClintock and Arnold Schwarzenegger, and independent Peter Ueberroth. In addition, independent commentator Arianna Huffington and the Green Party's Peter Camejo are spoilers who could draw votes from the left. Republican Bill Simon, the party's 2002 gubernatorial nominee, qualified for the contest but withdrew as an active candidate in late August. His name remains on the ballot, however.

Those are the significant players in the Voter Rush of 2003. To succeed, they do not have to appeal to everyone because a small slice of the electorate could prove decisive when the vote is split four, six or 135 ways. Each candidate need only identify a narrow base, cultivate and fawn over it and move it to the polls. At the same time, however, each must keep an eye peeled for the emergence of a "swing vote" — not easy in a contest one observer called "five-don't care anymore.

That's one reason some pollsters are predicting a huge turnout, comparable to a presidential election. And it's why consultants like Caddell and Sipple say the recall is a healthy revolution, re-empowering the disconnected electorate and attracting newcomers to the policy debate. "You have to wrap yourself in wonderment at the unconventional nature of this and the terrific byproducts for the electorate and their sense of involvement," said Sipple.

Maslin is the pollster for Davis in the recall and for Dean in the presidential campaign. So it's understandable that his feelings are mixed. He does not believe Davis deserves to be recalled, but he also believes a similar anger is threatening incumbents everywhere, including the White House. "The whole thing is democracy run amok, but it's still democracy," he said. "When the electorate gets unhinged, movements like this happen. I think we have an electorate that is unhinged."

Some are still waiting to see whether the recall will develop into a true movement. But like a tropical storm building to a hurricane, this one is shaping up along the right lines. It grew despite the objections of top leaders in both parties. It was underestimated right up to the day that sponsors submitted nearly double the signatures they needed to qualify the measure. And it has the power to create change that would have been unfathomable just a few months ago.

The last "Great Movement" in California was Proposition 13 in 1978. The ballot measure to cut the property tax overwhelmed Sacramento, where lawmakers had ignored growing complaints for years. Beyond changing financial policy, though, Proposition 13's greatest legacy is that it taught voters how to use the initiative pro-

dimensional chess" and one where overall turnout is expected to be at "presidential levels," according to pollster Mark DiCamillo.

Normally, the swing voter is one who, well, "swings" between Republicans and Democrats. It might be someone who registers "decline to state," or a conservative Democrat who occasionally votes Republican, or a moderate Republican who "swings" Democratic, or someone from a minor party who slides into the mainstream. This time, the most likely suspects to swing are "no-shows" (folks who register to vote but rarely visit a polling booth), pragmatic-minded but conservative Republicans and Democrats who backed the recall. In an election with so many choices, and with so much media attention, thanks to Schwarzenegger, campaigns must identify not only a base, but also make assumptions about both swingers and turnout.

So where does each campaign stake out territory? And who has a head start?

The two candidates driving the most powerful Conestogas are Bustamante and Schwarzenegger. If history is any guide, Bustamante starts in the best position. He is the only Democrat of consequence, and Democrats make up 44.4 percent of registered voters, according to the Secretary of State's office.

"Historically, no Democrat has received less than 38 percent for any statewide office in California since the 1950s," explains Tony Quinn, co-editor of "The Target Book." "If Democrats control their base, Cruz will get pretty much to that level." If he does, it doesn't take a Stephen Hawking to know that the other 135 candidates must scramble for the remaining 62 percent.

But Bustamante's traditional base also includes those who could "swing" elsewhere, and they include those on both the left and right. For instance, Bustamante has been trending left in an effort to shore up support from labor and other traditional Democratic constituencies. Will that cost him votes among moderate and conservative Democrats who might swing to Schwarzenegger or Ueberroth? How will he fare among the sizeable number of Democrats who signed petitions to recall Davis? Will he have trouble holding the African American vote given recent political tensions between blacks and Latinos, especially in Los Angeles? Will liberal Green Party voters remain loyal to Camejo or punch a more pragmatic vote for the lone

HE'S NO LEADER—
TERMINATE DAVIS
IT'S ONLY HUMANE

> **"The whole thing is democracy run amok, but it's still democracy. When the electorate gets unhinged, movements like this happen. I think we have an electorate that is unhinged." — Democratic pollster Paul Maslin**

cess. In the 1960s, there were nine initiatives on the ballot. In the 1990s, there were 61.

Similarly, some believe the recall could change the nature of representative and direct democracy in California. Regardless of the outcome, future governors and other politicians will be more aware of the opportunity for recall, adding another political calculation to difficult policy decisions. At the same time, experts wonder whether voters will now be more likely to seek recall of a leader who loses favor. Nobody knows, but polls also suggest this is a thoughtful electorate that sees the recall as a tool for extreme conditions, not just unpopularity.

It isn't only anger, though, that's creating today's electoral movement. That's the old-fashioned motivation that sponsored historic uprisings like Proposition 13. This recall has at least a trio of contributing fuels including Schwarzenegger's celebrity, the prospect of Democrat Cruz Bustamante

Democrat? Will some liberal Democrats and women swing to Huffington, the only woman among the major candidates and one who casts herself as a progressive? Never far from a free media event, Huffington uses every opportunity to cozy up to the left on issues such as corporate greed and the influence of special interests on established politicians (read: Bustamante). And will Bustamante attract a decent share of "no-shows?"

Bustamante campaign strategist Richie Ross isn't worried about Democrats bolting to Huffington or anyone else. African American voters will rally to Bustamante, he insists, because the lieutenant governor is campaigning against Proposition 54 — the initiative designed to stop the state from gathering racial data (see page 32). Latinos are Bustamante's natural constituency, so Ross sees no danger they will slough off. He stops short of predicting that Bustamante will hold the hard Democratic base and reach 38 percent, however.

Ross also discounts the impact of "no-shows," arguing they are not swing voters in this election. "That's a theory," he says. "Voting is like making your bed; you either do it or don't." Ross has made assumptions about who will and won't vote come October but like a good strategist, he won't share them. He does believe, however, that the traditional no-shows will follow tradition.

That won't be good news for Schwarzenegger, who may need no-shows to boost overall turnout and swing beneath his banner. In his favor is the fact that many no-shows are non-white and between 18 and 25 years of age — precisely the group most attracted to his films. Many are young Latino males, a group also likely to be heavily courted by Bustamante.

"The only reason those folks are paying any attention at this point is Arnold's celebrity," says veteran campaign consultant Ray McNally. "If he can continue to excite those voters over the next few weeks, and motivate them to the polls, he has an excellent chance."

Schwarzenegger will need them because, unlike Bustamante, he cannot count on unqualified support from his party's traditional base. That base tends to be conservative, and the moderate actor has a challenge from the right: McClintock.

"A lot depends on the right," says Quinn. "They could definitely be a swing vote. Do they want ideological purity, or will they vote for Arnold for pragmatic reasons? If they fall on their sword for ideological reasons, it will be hard for Arnold to win."

Schwarzenegger could compensate for losses on the right with another potential "swing" vote: Democrats who back the recall and also don't want Bustamante. Quinn and others identify white, upper-income Democrats as part of a bloc that may be entranced with Schwarzenegger's candidacy. So, too, could rank-and-file labor and other working-class Democrats, conservative on social issues and heirs of those once dubbed "Reagan Democrats."

But even here, Schwarzenegger must compete with Ueberroth, a Republican running as an independent and appealing to the same bloc of voters. Like Schwarzenegger, Ueberroth is moderate on social issues (pro-choice on abortion, for instance) and could develop cross-party appeal, especially among older voters who don't go to "Terminator" movies and are uncomfortable both with ideological conservatives and the fact that Schwarzenegger has little experience with government. Schwarzenegger's chances would be greatly enhanced if Ueberroth withdrew.

While Bustamante tries to hold his base and Ueberroth being the first Latino governor and the full-throttle intensity of modern technology.

Thanks largely to Schwarzenegger, the saturation television coverage on morning shows, afternoon cable programs and nightly network news has created a virtual campaign for a nation that is vicariously sharing in the California revolt. Local television news is far more interested in the recall than a regular election. And nationally, strategists are aware that televised glimpses of uprising in California could germinate elsewhere.

At the same time, the Internet has become an awesome power for grassroots communication and organization. Arguably, the surging Dean campaign and the recall would not be possible without it. Dean, a one-time long shot, shocked the political world by outpacing the frontrunners and raising $7.6 million during the second quarter of this year, most of it in small contributions on the Internet. And in California, Russo said talk radio and the Internet provided the essential framework for the recall.

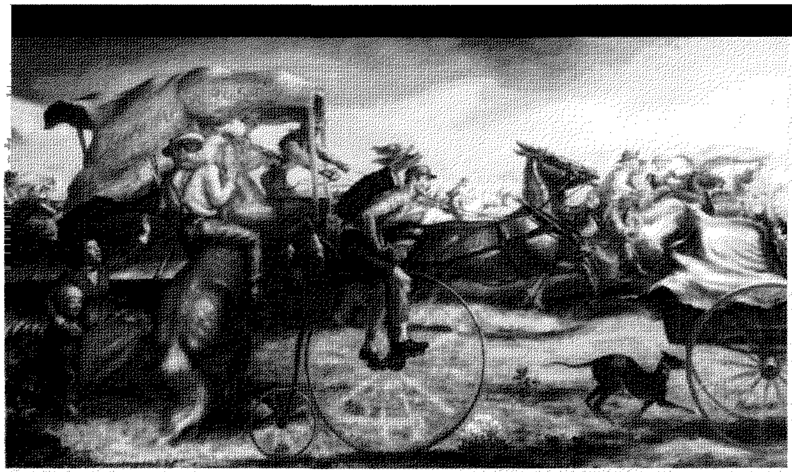
"It was those two elements," he said. "We had over 20 million hits to our Web site and 450,000 downloads of the signature petition from our Web site. We definitely hit a nerve. But you don't get that unless people are angry."

Like the last "Great Movement," Proposition 13, it may take a decade or more to see the changes being wrought today. Right now, the electorate is angry and it's been empowered. It is also being introduced for the first time to new tools of direct democracy and it is being armed with the power of the information age.

"This is the era of the push-button revolution," said Democratic consultant Kam Kuwata. Small activist groups "are ignored now at the politicians' peril. It really will change the dynamic of how governmental decisions are made.

"Are we at the beginning?" he asked. "We certainly are at the beginning of something."

David Lesher is editor of California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**



and Schwarzenegger fashion one out of bits and pieces, McClintock has definable turf on the right. His overall outlook improved significantly when Simon pulled out, for they were battling for the same bloc of conservative voters. Simon did not endorse McClintock, however, and his name remains on the ballot, potentially siphoning votes away from the state lawmaker even though he has withdrawn.

According to McNally, McClintock will "concentrate on the conservative Republican base and ... benefit greatly from the fact that conservatives will be targeted by the recall campaign. If conservatives don't come out to vote, then Davis could beat the recall. They have to get that vote to the polls, and that works to McClintock's advantage."

Ironically, McClintock also could benefit if Schwarzenegger runs an aggressive absentee-ballot program. Absentee voting is one way to lock up votes early, but it poses a risk for Schwarzenegger. Absentees tend to be older and conservative, warns McNally, and "there is no guarantee they'd go for Schwarzenegger" even if his campaign supplied the ballot.

For McClintock, Schwarzenegger's presence is a two-edged sword. On one hand, the celebrity actor is hogging the lion's share of media coverage and has the resources to wage an expensive and glitzy campaign. On the other hand, Schwarzenegger elevated the entire election to cosmic levels, which brought unprecedented free media attention to — among others — McClintock. That coverage is critical to the resource-challenged lawmaker, who must reach his base through free media and Web site organizing.

"My job is to mobilize a constituency that I know is out there," he says. "This is an election that will be decided by the simple process of neighbors talking to neighbors. It will not be decided by glitzy TV commercials" — a view shared by Ross, who believes that free media will be more powerful than paid media.

Meanwhile, McClintock is unlikey to follow Simon's lead and bow out. He has spent his entire, 20-year legislative career bucking whatever system is in place, and odds, even victory, have meant little to him over the years. He responded to Simon's withdrawal by comparing himself to Seabiscuit — a race horse legendary for his staying power.

Thus the Voter Rush of 2003 is under way in this most unprecedented of California elections. At the outset, a significant chunk of the electorate, mostly made up of past no-shows, sits beyond the far hills. Is it there at all, or is it, as Richie Ross insists, a mirage?

If Ross is wrong, and that bloc shows up on Election Day, it just may choose the next governor — a very conventional role for a very unconventional swing vote.

A.G. Block is publisher of the California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

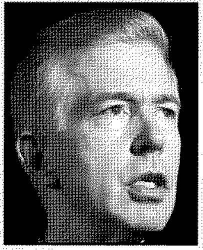
Candidates

Democrat

- Vik S. Bajwa
- Audie Bock
- Art Brown
- Robert Cullenbine
- Bob Lynn Edwards
- Warren Farrell
- Dan Feinstein
- Larry Flynt
- Lorraine (Abner Zurd) Fontanes
- Gerold Lee Gorman
- Diana Foss
- James H. Green
- Garrett Gruener
- Joe Guzzardi
- Ralph A. Hernandez
- Edward "Ed" Kennedy
- D.E. Kessinger
- Kelly P. Kimball
- Eric Korevaar
- Dick Lane
- Gary Leonard
- Calvin Y. Louie
- Frank A. Macaluso, Jr.
- Paul "Chip" Mailander
- Robert C. Mannheim
- Bruce Margolin
- Paul Mariano
- Scott A. Mednick
- Jonathan Miller
- John "Jack" Mortensen
- Paul Nave
- Ronald Jason Palmieri
- Bill Prady
- Charles "Chuck" Pineda Jr.
- Daniel C. "Danny" Ramirez
- Christopher Ranken
- David Laughing Horse Robinson
- Georgy Russell
- Darrin H. Scheidle
- Mike Schmier
- Christopher Sproul
- Lawrence Steven Strauss
- Tim Sylvester
- A. Lavar Taylor
- Marc Valdez
- Bill Vaughn
- Jim Weir
- Lingel H. Winters
- Michael J. Wozniak

Republican

- Douglas Anderson
- John W. Beard
- Ed Beyer
- Vip Bhola
- Cheryl Bly-Chester
- Todd Carson
- William "Bill" S. Chambers
- D. (Logan Darrow) Clements
- Robert "Butch" Dole
- Gene Forte
- Rich Gosse
- Jim Hoffmann
- S. Issa
- Michael Jackson
- Alex-St. James
- Stephen L. Knapp
- Gino Martorana



Governor Gray Davis

Occupation: Governor
Party: Democrat
Career and Professional Highlights: Attorney in a private firm, 1970-73; chief of staff for Governor Jerry Brown, 1974-1981; California Assembly, 1982-86; state controller, 1987-1995; candidate for U.S. Senator (lost in primary), 1992; lieutenant governor, 1995-98; governor, 1998-present
Education: Stanford University; Columbia University
Martial Status: Married, no children
Residence: Los Angeles, California
Age: 60, born December 26, 1942
Birthplace: Bronx, New York
Web Site: www.gray-davis.com

"I'm going to fight like a Bengal tiger, and one of my greatest strengths is, people have underestimated me since I was born. Every time they say I'm road kill I continue to win because I have great faith that the California voters are fair, and believe in fundamental fairness."

— Gray Davis, July 23, 2003

Peter Camejo

Occupation: Financial investment adviser
Party: Green Party
Career and Professional Highlights: Candidate for president, Socialist Workers Party, 1976; chair and co-founder of Progressive Asset Management Inc.; county-appointed trustee of the Contra Costa County Employees Retirement Association; Green Party nominee for governor of California (lost general election), Green Party, 2002
Education: Massachusetts Institute of Technology; University of California, Berkeley
Marital Status: Married, two children
Residence: Walnut Creek, California
Age: 63, born December 31, 1939
Birthplace: New York, New York
Web Site: www.votecamejo.org

"You will find all throughout California people who are progressives, people who are environmentalists, people who are workers, opposing Davis and wanting him removed. But they don't want the Republican Party."

— Peter Camejo, June 30, 2003

Cruz Bustamante

Occupation: Lieutenant governor
Party: Democrat
Career and Professional Highlights: California Assembly, 1993-98; first Latino Assembly speaker in California history, 1996-97; Lieutenant governor, 1998-present
Education: Fresno City College; California State University, Fresno
Marital Status: Married, three children
Residence: Elk Grove, California
Age: 50, born January 4, 1953
Birthplace: Dinuba, California
Web Site: www.noonrecallyesonbustamante.com

"As much as we did to stop the recall, it is not working. We need to have a serious Democrat candidate on the ballot. I am here to tell everybody to vote no on the recall and yes on Bustamante."

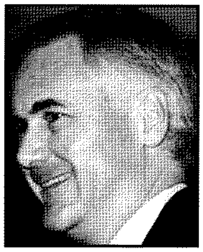
— Cruz Bustamante, August 7, 2003

Arianna Huffington

Occupation: Columnist, author
Party: Independent
Career and Professional Highlights: Syndicated columnist; author of nine books; organizer of the "Shadow" political conventions, 2000; head of the Detroit Project, a nonprofit that advocates for fuel-efficient automobiles
Education: Cambridge University
Marital Status: Divorced, two children
Residence: Los Angeles, California
Age: 53, born July 15, 1950
Birthplace: Athens, Greece
Web Site: www.ariannaforgov.com

"California is in deep, deep trouble. Its citizens deserve more than the partisan, petty and pathetic leadership it's getting at the moment."

— Arianna Huffington, August 7, 2003



Tom McClintock

Occupation: State senator

Party: Republican

Career and Professional Highlights: California Assembly, 1982-1992, 1996-2000; won Republican primary for congress (lost general election), 1992; director of the Center for the American Taxpayer, 1992-94; California Senate, 2000-present; Republican primary winner for state controller (lost both general elections), 1994 and 2002

Education: University of California, Los Angeles

Marital Status: Married, two children

Residence: Granada Hills, California

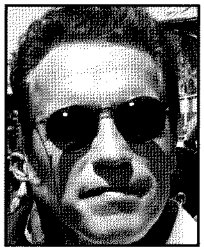
Age: 47, born July 10, 1956

Birthplace: Thousand Oaks, California

Web Site: www.tommcclintock.com

"This is a historic opportunity for California to roll back the taxes and regulations that are destroying our economy. This is not just about changing governors, but changing the direction of California."

— Tom McClintock, August 9, 2003



Arnold Schwarzenegger

Occupation: Actor

Party: Republican

Career and Professional Highlights: Mr. Europe, 1966; Mr. Olympia, 1970-75, 1980; actor in movies, "Terminator," "Conan the Barbarian," "Predator," "Kindergarten Cop," etc.; chair, President's Council on Physical Fitness, 1990; chair, Los Angeles Inner City Games, 1990; led successful campaign for Proposition 49, a state initiative that provided more funding for before- and after-school programs

Education: University of Wisconsin Superior

Marital Status: Married, four children

Residence: Los Angeles, California

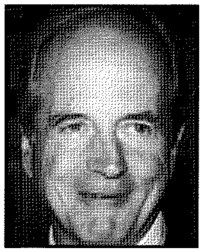
Age: 56, born July 30, 1947

Birthplace: Thal, Austria

Web Site: www.joinarnold.com

"The politicians are fiddling, fumbling and failing, and the man that is failing the people more than anyone is Gray Davis. He's failing them terribly, and this is why he needs to be recalled. And this is why I'm going to run for governor of California."

— Arnold Schwarzenegger, August 6, 2003



Peter Ueberroth

Occupation: Businessman

Party: Republican

Career and Professional Highlights: President of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, 1980-84; Time Magazine, Man of the Year, 1984; commissioner of Major League Baseball, 1984-89; chair of Rebuild L.A. (created after Rodney King riots), 1992

Education: San Jose State

Marital Status: Married, four children

Residence: Laguna Beach, California

Age: 65, born September 2, 1937

Birthplace: Evanston, Illinois

Web Site: www.peterforgovernor.com

"California is an entrepreneurial state, and it should build on its strengths. As governor, I will provide the leadership to see that we do build on those strengths."

— Peter Ueberroth, August 19, 2003

Simon withdrew from the race, but he is still on the ballot

Bill Simon

Occupation: Businessman, Attorney

Party: Republican

Career and Professional Highlights: Foreign exchange trader, Morgan Guaranty Trust, 1973-79; lawyer, Davis, Markel, Dwyer & Edwards, 1983-85; assistant U.S. attorney, 1985-88; co-founder of William E. Simon & Sons, 1988; won Republican primary for governor (lost general election), 2002

Education: Williams College; Boston College

Marital Status: Married, four children

Residence: Pacific Palisades, California

Age: 52, born June, 20, 1951

Birthplace: Neptune, New Jersey

Web Site: www.simonforcalifornia.org

"This campaign will be a battle for the heart, the soul and the future of California. When the dust settles, voters are only going to ask one question: Who has the courage to solve the financial crisis."

— Bill Simon, August 8, 2003

Dennis Duggan McMahon
Mike McNeilly
Carl A. Mehr
Jeffrey L. Mock
Dorene Musilli
Robert C. Newman II
Gregory J. Pawlik
Heather Peters
Bryan Quinn
Reva Renee Renz
Daniel W. Richards
Kevin Richter
Jamie Rosemary Safford
David Ronald Sams
Randall D. Sprague
William Tsangares
James M. Vandeventer, Jr.
Paul W. Vann
Van Vo
Chuck Walker
Jon W. Zellhoefer

Independent

Brooke Adams
Angelyne
Mohammad Arif
Badi Badiozamani
Joel Britton
John Christopher Burton
Michael Cheli
Gary Coleman
Mary "Mary Carey" Cook
Scott Davis
Ronald J. Friedman
Leo Gallagher
Jack Loyd Grisham
Sara Ann Hanlon
C. Stephen Henderson
Trek Thunder Kelly
Jerry Kunzman
Todd Richard Lewis
Mike P. McCarthy
Bob McClain
Darryl L. Mobley
Leonard Padilla
Jeff Rainforth
Kurt E. "Tachikaze" Rightmyer
Sharon Rushford
George B. Schwartzman
Richard J. Simmons
B.e. Smith
Patricia G. Tilley
Brian Tracy
Nathan Whitecloud Walton

Other*

Diane Beall Templin (AI)
Ivan A. Hall (G)
Maurice Walker (G)
Daniel Watts (G)
Ken Hamidi (L)
John J. "Jack" Hickey (L)
Ned Roscoe (L)
Iris Adam (NL)
Darin Price (NL)
C.T. Weber (PF)

**Parties: American Independent, Green, Libertarian, Natural Law, Peace & Freedom.*

THERE WE GO AGAIN?

The exotic idea of a Hollywood actor becoming a politician was settled by Ronald Reagan's historic career. Is Arnold Schwarzenegger following the same path?

By Lou Cannon

Ronald Reagan on the phone from his L.A. election headquarters talking with his northern CA staff and hearing that he'd taken the lead in the primary election. Photo: Bettmann/Corbis, Los Angeles 6/7/66.

Ever since Arnold Schwarzenegger hurled his helmet into the ring on the "Tonight" show, he has been compared to Ronald Reagan, the star politician who ran for governor of California in 1966 and defeated incumbent Governor Pat Brown by nearly a million votes.

For the media, the temptation to equate Reagan and Schwarzenegger has been irresistible. Both men are Hollywood celebrities with affable manners and savvy spouses. Both are popular with fellow actors and directors who worked with them in movies. Both are inexperienced outsiders who claim they can do better than conventional politicians.

An analogy is traditionally defined as a comparison in which essential similarities outweigh essential differences. Does the Schwarzenegger-Reagan equation meet this test? A case can be made either way.

Start with Reagan, who billed himself as "an ordinary citizen with a deep-seated belief that much of what troubles us has been brought about by politicians." Despite this disclaimer, Reagan was an intuitive politician. He recognized from questions put to him that the student uprisings at the University of California, then a minor issue in the polls, troubled many voters. Reagan made the "mess at Berkeley" a potent political issue.

Reagan, who had a sturdy value system and strong convictions, had been politically active since participating in a student strike as a college freshman. He was an effective president and negotiator for the Screen Actors Guild. Over the years Reagan had "evolved," as he put it, from a New Deal Democrat to a conservative Republican without losing his admiration for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had rescued America (and Reagan's family) in the Depression. As a Republican, Reagan continued to speak in the cadences of the majority Democrats, repeatedly using FDR phrases such as "rendezvous with destiny," in his speeches.

Schwarzenegger, by his own admission, didn't vote in the last two presidential elections. He was a surprise candidate for governor, making a bigger splash when he announced than Reagan did. But Reagan had stirred conservatives on October 27, 1964, with a dramatic nationally televised speech for Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater. When President Lyndon Johnson routed Goldwater in a landslide that carried many other Republicans to defeat, Reagan inherited the mantle of conservative leadership and was touted as a potential president before he even ran for governor. Schwarzenegger, as a naturalized citizen, is barred from the presidency.

Reagan faced different obstacles in 1966 than Schwarzenegger does now. The Democrats had depicted Goldwater as an extremist who would lead the nation into war. A notorious television commercial showed a little girl counting the petals on a daisy that dissolved on a countdown into the explosion of a nuclear bomb. By 1966, after Johnson had sent a half-million U.S. troops into Vietnam,

FOX NEWS
FOX 11 LOS ANGELES

Arnold Schwarzenegger at opening of the Inner City Games in Bellflower. Photo: Robert Galbraith, Reuters 8/8/03.

conservatives were telling this bitter joke: "They said if I voted for Goldwater we'd be in war within a year. I did, and we are." But with Johnson's reputation as a peace president gone, the extremist issue had lost its bite, and Reagan was in any case less scary than Goldwater. All he needed to do to win was to demonstrate that he was reasonable. Reagan did this easily in a campaign where he never once referred to himself a conservative.

Schwarzenegger lacks Reagan's conservative base but may have greater political range. His adversaries, starting with Governor Gray Davis, have found it hard to pigeonhole him. Social conservatives brand Schwarzenegger a liberal because he supports abortion rights and gay rights. Some liberals claim he is a conservative in disguise, citing his support for Proposition 187. Political commentators have suggested he is a know-nothing. Reagan faced this problem, too, and deftly deflected it. "The man who has the job has more experience than anybody," Reagan said. "That's why I'm running." Schwarzenegger has behaved similarly. His claim that people want change and don't "care about figures" is charmingly (and evasively) Reaganesque.

In 1966, Americans were uneasy about the economy and the ill-defined U.S. military mission in Vietnam. Working-class Democrats, later known as "Reagan Democrats," were disaffected by student demonstrations, the civil rights revolution and the Watts riot. While nominally Democratic in its politics, California was on the cusp of becoming a Republican bastion.

In 2003, war and the economy are again on voters' minds. Latinos, a tiny slice of the electorate in 1966 for which Reagan was competitive, are an emerging force, and the political demographics of California heavily favor Democrats. But popular frustration with the state's political leadership is even greater now than it was then. Pat Brown, a good but tired governor, had worn out his welcome after eight years in office. On his worst day, however, he was far more popular than Davis.

Reagan's film career had ended by the time he became a candidate for governor, but he had been a star at a time when movies were unrivaled entertainment. Voters remembered Reagan as an actor who had played (in Garry Wills' words) the "heartwarming role of himself." Reagan had stayed in the public eye as host of the General Electric Theater, for years the leading program in its Sunday prime-time slot. In 1965 he traveled around the state speaking to forums in small communities, in what his political consultants called "out-of-town tryouts." By the time Reagan formally announced for governor, on January 4, 1966, he was a polished candidate.

Schwarzenegger's movie career was fading before the success of this summer's third "Terminator" movie, in which he again plays a dependable killer robot. He has never been tested on the campaign trail. But he has the star quality of Reagan, and he faces a less inspiring field of candidates than Reagan ever did.

Like Reagan, Schwarzenegger needs to demonstrate that he knows enough to hire good people. Schwarzenegger may have overdone it by naming a cadre of high-powered advisers who are economically all over the lot. Billionaire investor Warren Buffett, for instance, favors tax increases that soak the rich, while George Shultz favors a flat tax that would help wealthy taxpayers. But that may not matter. The politics of gravitas-by-association helped Reagan and may work for Schwarzenegger, too.

There is another way in which Schwarzenegger seems thoroughly Reaganesque. Reagan campaigned on an economy-in-government platform, promising to "squeeze, cut, and trim" the state budget. But he never ruled out the necessity for new taxes. Inheriting a budget deficit, Reagan on the second day of his governorship proposed what became a $1 billion tax hike — equivalent to $5.3 billion in 2003 dollars — that was then the largest such increase ever put forth by any governor of any state. He blamed Brown for making it necessary, and voters accepted his explanation.

In the process of making the requisite denunciation of tax hikes, Schwarzenegger has also declined to rule them out. If he wins, balances the budget with new taxes and puts the blame for them on Davis, it can truly be said that he is following in the footsteps of Ronald Reagan.

Lou Cannon is a former Washington Post *reporter and a contributing editor to* California Journal. *His most recent book, "Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power" will be published mid-September.* Send comments to **comments@californiajournal.com**

THE DAVIS RECORD

California's historic recall election has two questions on the ballot. The first is whether voters should remove Gray Davis from the governorship, and the second is who should replace him if he's recalled. Voters' answer to the first question will largely depend on what they make of Davis' record as governor. When he came to power in 1999, Davis made education his top priority. In the years since, per pupil spending has jumped more than $1,000. Davis also signed trendsetting legislation to: regulate auto emissions, authorize stem cell research and give workers paid family leave. Critics of Davis say he acted too slowly in responding to the energy crisis of 2000-2001, signing expensive deals for power at the taxpayers' expense. He also presided over a state government that — when the economy turned sour — essentially put off tough budgetary decisions into the future. Here's a look at the Davis record from 1999 until now.

Education

Signed legislation to:

- Create Academic Performance Index to identify poor-performing schools
- Require a high-school exit exam
- Create teacher training institutes
- Expand financial aid to college students
- Increase funds for special education courses
- Increase money for low-performing schools
- Place $21 billion in school construction bonds on the ballot
- Increase education spending $7.3 billion, '99 to '04

Health

Signed legislation to:

- Fund prenatal care for undocumented women
- Create HMO watchdog agency, the Department of Managed Care
- Mandate coverage of mental illness, contraception, and cancer screening and experimental cancer treatment
- Allow patients to sue HMOs
- Allow stem cell research
- Boost workers' comp benefits

Budget/Economy

99-00: Increase spending 10%; cut taxes $500 million; cut vehicle license fee 10%
00-01: Increase spending 18%, cut taxes $1.4 billion
01-02: Increase spending 2.5%, $50 million tax break for farmers
02-03: Decrease spending about 2%
03-04: Cut the general fund $7 billion, overall spending the same

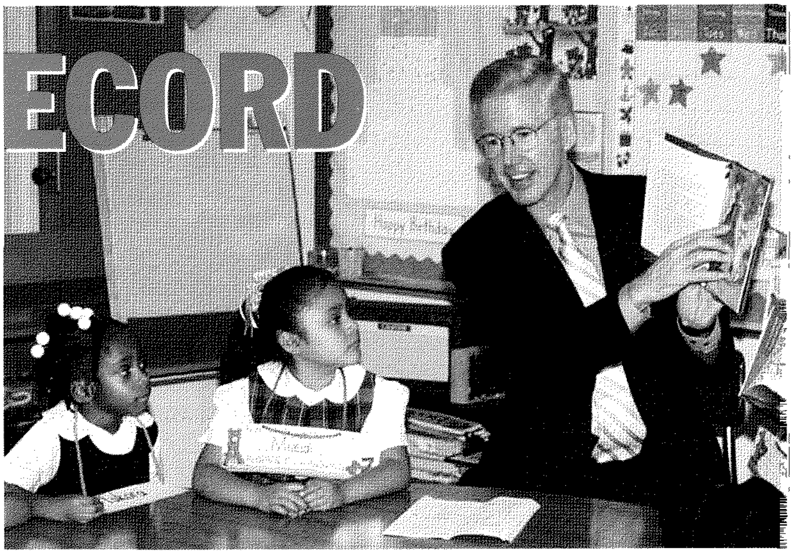


Photo: Fred Prouser, Reuters,7/7/03

Environment

Signed legislation to:

- Preserve 10,000-acre Headwaters Forest
- Phase out gasoline additive MTBE
- Increase penalties for repeat water polluters
- Place more than $6 billion in bonds for parks and water on the ballot
- Regulate storm water runoff
- Establish greenhouse gas emission standards for automobiles

Public Safety

Signed legislation to:

- Ban production of unsafe handguns
- Toughen ban on assault weapons
- Require trigger locks on all guns
- Place tighter controls on gun shows
- Create database of ineligible gun owners

Other

Signed legislation to:

- Create new state office to oversee child support collection
- Create registry of domestic partners and grant new authorities to partners
- Provide benefits to partners of government workers
- Raise minimum wage by $1
- Increase unemployment benefits
- Place housing bond on the ballot for affordable apartments and shelters
- Allow family leave after birth or adoption of child or care for sick family members
- Provide independent negotiator in farmworker contracts

Davis also:

- Settled legal challenge to Proposition 187's ban on benefits to illegal immigrants.
- Addressed energy crisis with $10 billion in borrowed state money and agreement to long-term contracts with energy producers. Created state agency to build, buy and operate power plants.

Bush and the recall

D.C. perspective

by Marc Sandalow

Let's dispense with the White House pretense that California's recall election is a local matter in which President Bush has but a bystander's interest.

Fact is, Bush has inserted himself into dozens of statewide races of far less consequence, and both national parties understand they have a vital stake in the recall's outcome.

So what's the real story behind the president's silence on the nation's hottest political story?

The most plausible explanation has more to do with tactics than ideology; California remains an elusive, electoral freak show to Bush and his mostly Texas team.

Time after time, the state's Democratic leanings have frustrated the partisan ambitions of Republicans coast to coast. From his drubbing in the 2000 election to his embarrassing embrace of Dick Riordan in the 2002 governor's race, President Bush has displayed a reverse Midas touch when it comes to California politics.

"Everything the White House does in California turns to s—," said a California Republican strategist.

California remains an elusive, electoral freak show to Bush and his mostly Texas team.

While a successful election could boost Bush's chances to win California's 55 electoral votes, there are other plausible scenarios in which Bush comes out a loser. For starters, how does Bush share a podium with Republicans who attack Davis for turning a huge surplus into a record deficit?

"Sound familiar, Mr. President," House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco chided Bush at a Washington news conference this summer.

A Democratic group, aware that no federal authority exists to do so, has already begun an Internet movement to recall Bush (www.bushrecall.org) based on the same economic arguments used against Davis.

Similarly, Bush might find it awkward to join the attack on Davis' bungling of California's electricity crisis when federal regulators have assigned some of the blame to manipulative Texas oil men, several of whom are big contributors to Bush's political campaigns. Jumping into the recall also would place the president in the uncomfortable position of choosing between the 42 Republicans vying to replace Davis.

It might be easy to overlook Gary Coleman and Mary Carey (both running as independents) but how would the Republican-in-Chief justify support for Arnold Schwarzenegger and not Tom McClintock or Peter Ueberroth.

Indeed, Bush's initial response to Schwarzenegger ("Yeah, he'd be a good governor,") morphed into something less declarative ("as would others running") when he was asked the same question several days later.

Perhaps the biggest danger to Republicans is that Bush's presence would help validate Democratic charges that the recall is being orchestrated by national Republicans who can't accept legitimate election results when they do not come out on top. Davis said so much in his defiant UCLA speech when he said "this recall is bigger than California."

"What's happening here is part of an ongoing national effort to steal elections Republicans cannot win," Davis said.

Bush, after surviving the most controversial election in a century to become one of America's most popular presidents, hardly needs the national media to begin reliving the GOP litigation that stopped the Florida recount.

For just that reason, Democrats are perfectly willing to drag Bush into the California fracas whether the evidence of a link exists or not (in fact, there are plenty of signs the White House was far more comfortable without the recall). So desperate is the Democratic desire to draw in the White House, some party loyalists suggested that the timing of Bush's announcement of the capture of a top-ranking al Qaeda terrorist just as Air Force One landed in California in August was calculated to keep the press corps from asking about the recall. Only the most paranoid said the same about the Eastern power outage which struck the next day, monopolizing Bush's exchanges with reporters for the remainder of his California stay.

Of course, no one knows for certain what really lurks in minds of West Wing strategists who belong to the Arnold Schwarzenegger spare-the-public-the-details school of communication.

"We've made very clear our position on the California recall election," White House spokesman Scott McClellan said without further explanation upon arrival in California with the president.

That position is best explained as follows: The will of California voters is most likely to match that of the White House if the president keeps his mouth shut.

Contributing editor Marc Sandalow is the San Francisco Chronicle's *Washington bureau chief. Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

Proposition 53

A constitutional amendment creating the Twenty-First Century Infrastructure Investment Fund

Proposition 53 was placed on the ballot as part of a budget deal brokered by Democrats and Republicans in 2002. The proposition — which would constitutionally mandate yearly infrastructure investment — was authored by Assemblymen Keith Richman (R-Northridge) and Joe Canciamilla (D-Pittsburg) and introduced as a constitutional amendment, ACA 11. As a constitutional amendment, the Legislature did not need the governor's signature to place it on the ballot. The administration of Governor Gray Davis estimates the state's infrastructure need over the next five years at $54.2 billion.

Proposal: Proposition 53 requires that the state automatically make investments in infrastructure projects from the general fund. Expenditures must be divided equally between state and local projects. The first investment — to be made in 2006-2007 — is 1 percent of the general fund; investments increase 0.3 percent annually to 3 percent and then remain fixed. The set-asides are subject to increase, decrease, or suspension, depending on the economy. When state revenues are estimated to decline from the prior year, there would be no set-aside. Set-asides increase if general fund revenue increases 8 percent or more over the previous year.

Arguments for: Proponents argue that California's infrastructure is crumbling, and the Legislature — immersed in budget politics — has been unable to act to fix it. The backers say that the state will continue to lose businesses and jobs if California doesn't invest in its schools, roads, bridges, water facilities, etc. The bill authorizing this constitutional amendment passed both houses of the Legislature with bipartisan support. It has a wide range of supporters among interest groups, including the Associated General Contractors and the Association of California Water Agencies, among others.

Arguments against: Opponents of the proposition say that the measure is yet another example of budgeting by ballot, and would — if passed — tie the hands of legislators during difficult budget years. Some critics, such as Jack O'Connell, state superintendent of education, say that Proposition 53 could conceivably take money away from education. Others, such as Lenny Goldberg of the California Tax Reform Association, warn that not only does the measure lock spending increases into the Constitution, but it also doesn't detail how the money should be spent — amounting to a blank check for pork projects.

Proposition 54

Classification by Race, Ethnicity, Color or National Origin Constitutional Amendment

This proposition — which would ban the collection of racial and other data in California — is sponsored by University of California Regent Ward Connerly. Connerly in the past successfully moved the University of California to ban race as an admissions criteria and was also behind the successful Proposition 209 campaign that banned the use of race and gender in public hiring, contracting and college admissions. In the months leading up to the election, there have been scuffles between Connerly and foes of the measure.

Proposal: Proposition 54 would ban state and local governments from classifying — or collecting — information on a person's race, ethnicity, color or national origin for the purposes of public education, public contracting, public employment and other government operations. There are several exemptions to the proposed law. Race data could be collected to: comply with federal law; to remain eligible for federal money; to comply with a court order; to allow law enforcement to describe individuals; to collect information related to medical research subjects and patients; and to allow the Department of Fair Employment and Housing to collect certain race-related information through 2014.

Arguments for: Proponents of the measure say that government-imposed racial classifications have been used to divide people and that the numbers are already distorted by people who decline to state their race and the growing mixed-race population. Supporters also argue that Californians "resent being classified, categorized, divided and subdivided" based on skin color and the origin of their ancestors. Supporters of the measure include Connerly, state Senator Bill Morrow, Log Cabin Republicans, the Libertarian Party of California and others.

Arguments against: Much of the data collected by the state would be covered by the exemptions provided by the measure, but critics argue that there are significant gray areas in how the measure was written. While there is an exemption for "medical research subjects and patients," opponents say that some data banned under Proposition 54 is crucial for stopping preventable disease outbreaks. Other critics say that because minority groups need numbers to prove bias, it would be more difficult to prove discrimination by state and local agencies. Opponents of the measure include Jacqueline Jacobberger of the League of Women Voters; John Lewin, CEO of the California Medical Association; and Molly Coye, M.D., former director of the Department of Health Services under former Governor Pete Wilson.

Secession and recall

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

After a quarter century of trying, conservatives and anti-tax activists in the San Fernando Valley qualified for the November 2002 ballot a vote on whether or not the Valley could secede from Los Angeles.

This year, conservatives and anti-tax activists speedily qualified for a statewide special election a vote on whether to recall Democratic Governor Gray Davis — and, barring court intervention, that election will be held in October.

Secession went down to defeat 31% to 67% citywide — dooming the proposal — and squeaked by with only 51% support in the Valley. Are there lessons in secession's defeat for both sides in the upcoming recall election?

Secession came into play because of a growing sense — particularly among Valleyites — that government was not responsive to the concerns of ordinary Angelenos. After a flurry of attention in the '70s, the secession movement languished until 1997, when a bipartisan coalition of Valley state legislators pushed through a bill to abolish the veto power of the Los Angeles City Council over any secession move. Within a year, a newly formed activist group, Valley Voters Organized Toward Empowerment (Valley VOTE) jumpstarted secession's unprecedented march to the ballot.

> Voters are taking a 19th century reform for a test drive.

It was a long-established activist group, People's Advocate, that became an early catalyst for channeling voter frustration with state government into the gubernatorial recall. But here, the recall more closely mirrors the Hollywood secession attempt, which appeared on the same ballot as the Valley question.

The Hollywood movement was largely powered by one man, Gene LaPietra, who owned nightclubs regulated by L.A. City. He spent millions of his own money to qualify Hollywood secession for the ballot and to fund his own campaign for mayor, should the new city be approved. But, the Hollywood secession movement had no real roots; it failed both within the proposed city (69% against) and citywide (71% against).

As in the build up to the Valley secession vote, Californians' frustrations with state government simmered for a long time before the recall crystallized. But, like Hollywood secession, the recall didn't reach critical mass until one man, Congressman Darrell Issa (R-Vista), spent millions of his own money to qualify it for the ballot.

Like the secession movement, the current recall attempt blossomed in the restless politics of Los Angeles. In 1903, nearly a decade before California embraced Progressivism, L.A. became the first city to adopt the recall.

Opponents of secession and recall include a coalition of labor and business interests worried about potential economic and political consequences, and elected officials worried about their political careers.

A civic coalition led by L.A. Mayor Jim Hahn helped to defeat secession. An ad hoc alliance of establishment interests has loosely coalesced to fight the recall. Is voter anger over Governor Davis so intense that the influence of these groups will be nullified, as it was in the Proposition 13 campaign?

Perhaps the most significant similarity between the two movements lies in a sense that both seek change, but neither really knows — or at least is able to conceptualize — what that change should be. In the secession debate, there was no consensus on, or delineation of, the direction in which a new Valley city should go. The recall reveals no consensus on a direction for the state.

Like secession, the recall entails two votes — one on the issue and one to choose an officeholder (or officeholders) who would take office only if the issue was approved. Secession proponents hoped that a large field of candidates for mayor and city council would generate a high turnout of secession supporters. It didn't. The lack of prominent contenders on the ballot only served to increase doubts among many Angelenos about the credibility of the secession proposal.

That's certainly not the case with the recall. But could its credibility suffer from too many quirky contenders?

Lastly, both the secession and recall questions, like more traditional initiatives, require a "Yes" or "No" vote. And when in doubt, Californians tend to vote "No." That helped doom secession. That is what Governor Davis and recall opponents hope will doom the recall.

With the help of California's "21st Century city," voters are taking a 19th century reform for a test drive. Like the lady said, "Fasten your seat belts, it's going to be a bumpy ride."

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe is a senior scholar at USC's School of Policy, Planning & Development. Send comments to **comments@californiajournal.com**

Consultants:

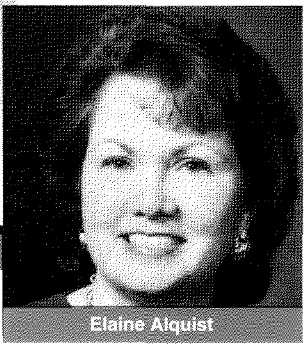
Who's running the top recall campaigns

Candidate	Campaign Mgr	TV Advertising	Press
Gray Davis (D)	Steve Smith	David Doak	Gabriel Sanchez
Cruz Bustamante (D)	Lynn Montgomery	Richie Ross	Luis Vizcaino
Tom McClintock (R)	John Feliz	n/a	n/a
Arnold Schwarzenegger (R)	George Gorton	Don Sipple	Karen Hanretty
Peter Ueberroth (R)	Dan Schnur	n/a	n/a
Peter Camejo (G)	Tyler Snortum-Phelps	n/a	n/a
Arianna Huffington (I)	Dean Barkley	Bill Hillsman	Parker Blackman

Campaign Watch

Noreen Evans, a Democratic Santa Rosa councilmember, is running in AD 7 against Democrats **Jim Leddy** and **Eric Sklar**. The seat is now held by Assm. **Patricia Wiggins**, who's running in SD 2. ... Republican **Bill MacAloney**, councilmember in Villa Park and president of JAX Markets grocery chain, is running in AD 60, which is now held by termed-out GOP Assm. Robert Pacheco. Pacheco's wife, **Gayle Pacheco**, has filed to run for the seat as has Republican **Denis Bilodeau**, who now serves on the Orange County Water District board of directors. ... **Donna Begay**, state worker and Sacramento community activist, joined the long list of Democratic candidates for AD 9, which is now held by the termed-out Darrell Steinberg. ... **Warner Bloomberg**, Green Party activist, is running in AD 23. Also running is Democrat **Joe Coto**, superintendent of the East Side Union High School District, and Democratic businesswoman **Kathy Chavez Napoli**. The seat is now held by Democrat **Manny Diaz**, who's leaving the Assembly early to run for the Senate against former Democratic Assm. **Elaine Alquist**. ... Two Democratic candidates have emerged to run in AD 50, which is now held by the termed-out Assm. Marco Firebaugh. South Gate Mayor **Hector De La Torre** is running for the seat, as is **Xavier Reyes**, of the Coalition of Humane Immigrant Rights in Los Angeles. ... Termed-out Democratic Sen. **Betty Karnette** is running in AD 54, as is Signal Hill Councilman **Edward H.J. Wilson**. The seat is now held by Democratic Assm. **Alan Lowenthal**, who's running for Senate. ... **Caitilin Riley**, formerly with the Legal Aid Society of San Diego, has filed to with the sec. of state as a Democrat to run against Republican **Mark Wyland** in AD 74. Wyland, who's termed out of the Assm. in 2006, has filed with the sec. of state to run in SD 38 in 2006, now held by Republican **Bill Morrow**, who's filed to run for lt. gov. ... Democrat **Mary Ann Andreas**, who is on the tribal council of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians, is running in AD 80 against incumbent Republican Assm. **Bonnie Garcia**. ... Republican Stockton Mayor **Gary Podesto** is running in SD 5 against incumbent Democrat Mike Machado. ...

Manny Diaz


Elaine Alquist

Richard Melendez, former West Covina councilman, is running again in SD 29 against GOP incumbent **Bob Margett**. In 2000, Melendez lost to Margett for the same seat by a slim margin. ... Democrats **Nell Soto** and **Gloria Negrete McLeod** hope to exchange seats in 2006, when their respective terms in the Senate and Assembly conclude. Sen. Soto has filed to run for AD 61 and Assm. Negrete McLeod has filed to run for SD 32. **Norma Torres**, a Democratic councilwoman in Pomona, has also filed to run for the Assm. seat. ... **Kevin McCarty**, staffer for Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante, is running for Sacramento City Council, 6th District seat.

Lobbying:
Crossing the Rubicon

Sandra Pizarro

The lobbying ranks are filled with those who toiled in the Capitol for lawmakers. Some even ventured into electoral politics now and again. One such person is **Sandra Pizarro**, who recently registered as a lobbyist for Kahl/Pownall Advocates. Pizarro, a former budget analyst for then Assm. Denise Moreno Ducheny and more currently chief of staff for Assm. Manny Diaz, lost to Assm. Simon Salinas in the 2000 AD 28 Democratic primary.

Lobbying and PR

Dan Chick is the new senior legislative advocate for Personal Insurance Federation of CA. Chick is the former policy consultant to the Insurance and Health and Human Services Comms. for the Sen. GOP Caucus. ... **Katie Culliton** has signed on as a lobbyist with the CA Federation of Republican Women. ... **Shannon Smith-Crowley**, formerly with the CA Medical Assn., has started her own lobbying firm. ... Washington, D.C.-based Blank Rome Government Relations has hired two lobbyists who have registered with the CA sec. of state. **Ashley Davis**, former special assistant to homeland security director Tom Ridge, and **Mark Holman**, former deputy assistant to President Bush for homeland security, have both registered in CA. ... **Will Brown**, formerly of Lang, Hansen, O'Malley and Miller Governmental Relations, started his own lobbying firm. ... **Randall Hagar** recently joined the CA Psychiatric Assn. Hagar was formerly legislative director for the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill.

Government

Democratic Assm. Diaz hired **Saeed Ali** to be his new chief of staff. Ali formerly worked for Assm. Firebaugh and was principal consultant to the Latino Caucus. ... **Paul Mitchell**, formerly with the CA Medical Assn., is the new chief of staff for Democratic Assm. Nicole Parra. ... Republican Assm. Todd Spitzer hired **Phyllis Schneider** as the office manager for his district office. ... Republican Assm. Dennis Mountjoy has hired his former legislative aide, **JoElla Cudney**, as his new chief of staff.

Other

Randolph Wu is the new general counsel for the CA Public Utilities Commission. Wu was the deputy city attorney for the city and county of San Francisco. ... Gov. Gray Davis named **Millie Greenberg**, member of Danville town Council, to the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors, 3rd district. Greenberg will be paid $59,892-a-year. ... Davis named **Adolfo Corona**, lawyer with Dowling, Aaron and Keeler, to a judgeship in the Fresno County Superior Court. Corona will make $139,476-a-year. ... The governor named four judges to the San Diego Superior Court: **Robert Dahlquist**, former partner Latham and Watkins, **Patricia Garcia** and **Theodore Weathers**, former San Diego court commissioners, and **Randa Trapp**, former attorney for Sempra Energy. The judges will make $139,476-a-year. ... Davis also named four judges to the LA County Superior Court: **Joseph Shiro Biderman**, former LA court commissioner, **Holly Kendig**, former partner with O'Melveny & Myers, **James Otto**, former partner with Altman, Otto and Kong, and **Brian Yep**, former partner with Delaney and Yep. The judges will earn $139,476-a-year. ... Davis appointed **Marilyn Delgado**, former tribal liaison for the Dept. of Social Services, to director of the Office of the American Indian Coordinator, where she'll make $77,544-a-year.

Who's filling what jobs in your office? Drop us a line at **people@californiajournal.com.**

Pay or play or nothing

As the 2003-04 session started in January, there were five bills in the Legislature that aimed to take California closer to universal health care. Three were based on the pay or play model, in which employers could choose to either pay-for-employees' health insurance or pay into a statewide health care system. The other two took different approaches — Sen. Sheila Kuehl's (D-Santa Monica) SB 921 would create a single-payer system, and Assm. Keith Richman's (R-Northridge) AB 30 would provide insurance to poor Californians using the federal Healthy Families program. Of all the bills, only Kuehl's won't be resolved this year — it was made into a two-year bill and will be taken up in January. Richman's was heard in the Senate in late August. The three pay-or-play bills (written by Democrats, Sen. John Burton, Assm. Dario Frommer and Assm. Rebecca Cohn) were thrown into a conference committee where lawmakers will try to come up with something they can send to Gov. Gray Davis' desk. Below is a look at bills that have found their way there already.

Senate

AB 196 (Leno) Transgender rights: Prohibits discrimination against transgender persons. Passed 23-11. *Approved by governor.*

AB 709 (Correa) Chemical regulation: Creates a fine process for businesses that violate regulations concerning chemicals that could be used in the manufacture of controlled substances. Passed 35-0. *Approved by governor.*

AB 187 (Runner) Armed forces: Makes the penalty for either assault or battery of a member of the U.S. Armed Forces a fine of $2,000 and/or imprisonment in county jail for not more than one year. Passed 35-0. *Approved by governor.*

AB 718 (Pacheco) Elections: Formalizes municipal election dates for conventional and mailed ballot elections and makes other technical changes to state law governing local elections. Passed 35-0. *Vetoed by governor.*

AB 566 (Yee) Fish transactions: Requires that fish sale accounting records be in the English language. Passed 29-5. *Approved by governor.*

AB 1083 (Cogdill) Life insurance: Prohibits an insurer from issuing a life insurance policy to an applicant that insures the life of the applicant's spouse unless the spouse has signed the policy

SENATE (25 D, 15R)	AB 196	AB 709	AB 187	AB 718	AB 566	AB 1083	AB 647	AB 1168
Aanestad (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Ackerman (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Alarcon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Alpert (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ashburn (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Battin (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	N
Bowen (D)	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brulte (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*
Burton (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cedillo (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chesbro (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Denham (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Ducheny (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dunn (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Escutia (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Figueroa (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Florez (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y
Hollingsworth (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Johnson (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*
Karnette (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Knight (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	N
Kuehl (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Machado (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Margett (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*
McClintock (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
McPherson (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y
Morrow (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	N
Murray (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Oller (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Ortiz (D)	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Perata (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Poochigian (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Romero (D)	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Scott (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sher (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Soto (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Speier (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Torlakson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vasconcellos (D)	*	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vincent (D)	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	*	Y

VOTER RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-July. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y - Yes N - No

*** - Absent or not voting**

A 2/3 vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple vote majority. (2/3 = 27 votes) application or has otherwise been notified. Passed 40-0. *Approved by governor.*

AB 647 (Nunez) Code violations: Provides tenants increased legal recourse against landlords who don't make unit repairs after being notified by a housing official of the defects. Passed 23-13. *Approved by governor.*

AB 1168 (Berg) Rivers: Adds segments of the lower reaches of the Albion River and the Gualala River to the California Wild and Scenic River System. Passed 26-12. *Approved by governor.*

Assembly

SB 841 (Perata) Auto insurance: Allows insurance companies to lure business from other auto insurance companies by offering discounts to drivers who are already insured. Passed 56-13. *Approved by governor.*

SB 399 (Kuehl) Stalking: Adds anti-stalking orders to the list of out-of-state protection orders that must be enforced in California. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

ASSEMBLY (48D. 32R)	SB 841	SB 399	SB 873	SB 10	SB 316	SB 968	SB 660		SB 841	SB 399	SB 873	SB 10	SB 316	SB 968	SB 660
Aghazarian (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Leslie (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bates (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Levine (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Benoit (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Lieber (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Berg (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Liu (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bermudez (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Longville (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bogh (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Lowenthal (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Calderon (D)	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*	Maddox (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Maldonado (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Canciamilla (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Matthews (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chan (D)	N	*	*	*	*	*	*	Maze (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chavez (D)	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*	McCarthy (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chu (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Montanez (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cogdill (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Mountjoy (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohn (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Mullin (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Corbett (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Nakanishi (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Correa (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Nakano (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cox (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Nation (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Daucher (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Negrete McLeod (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Diaz (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Nunez (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dutra (D)	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*	Oropeza (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dutton (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Pacheco (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dymally (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Parra (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Firebaugh (D)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Pavley (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Frommer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Plescia (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Garcia (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Reyes (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldberg (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Richman (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hancock (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Ridley-Thomas (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harman (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Runner (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Haynes (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Salinas (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Horton J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Samuelian (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Horton S (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Simitian (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Houston (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Spitzer (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jackson (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Steinberg (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Keene (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Strickland (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kehoe (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Vargas (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Koretz (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Wesson (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
La Malfa (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Wiggins (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
La Suer (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Wolk (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laird (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Wyland (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Leno (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Yee (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

SB 873 (McPherson) Background check: Allows the Department of Justice to disclose criminal history information to employers who hire people or use volunteers to work with minors and other vulnerable individuals. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

SB 10 (Poochigian) Assessment sales: Makes it harder for irrigation districts to sell tax-delinquent properties to third parties on the cheap. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

SB 316 (McPherson) Child abuse: Adds to the list of mandated child abuse reporters under the Child Abuse and Neglect Reporting Act. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

SB 968 (Bowen) Recycling fraud: Adds fraud involving the California beverage recycling program to the list of crimes for which the state may pursue criminal asset forfeiture from a convicted defendant. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

SB 660 (Speier) Social Security numbers: Requires an individual's social security number that is part of a divorce court file to be kept confidential. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

GOVERNOR REAGAN:

His Rise to Power

Editor's note: "Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power" is Lou Cannon's fifth book on the career of Ronald Reagan, and the first volume that gives a comprehensive account of Reagan's career as governor of California. The book traces Reagan's maturation from novice governor to a polished politician who after two unsuccessful campaigns wins the presidency. This excerpt focuses on Reagan's efforts at welfare reform at the beginning of his second term, and on the constructive working relationship he forged with the Democratic speaker of the Assembly, Bob Moretti. It is an alliance that contrasts vividly with the kind of partisan brinkmanship that characterizes modern political relationships. The 592-page book is available from PublicAffairs of New York, which will publish it on September 16, 2003.

By Lou Cannon

Governor Ronald Reagan began his first term as a novice who promised to "squeeze, cut, and trim" the costs of government without having the foggiest notion of how to do it and with a chief of staff and state finance director who knew as little as he did. Reagan nonetheless muddled through with middling success.

But by the beginning of his second term in 1971, he was an experienced politician with an able finance director in the person of Verne Orr and a competent chief of staff, Edwin Meese, who understood the governor's needs. Orr and Meese knew, as did Reagan, that the last two years of the first term had been longer on promise than accomplishment. They meant to change that in 1971.

Reagan's State of the State Address, delivered to a joint session of the Legislature on January 12, 1971, reflected his maturation. He gave a sober assessment of the state's fiscal problems, which were aggravated by a national economic recession, and urged legislators to help him solve them.

Reagan's emphasis in the speech was on welfare reform, which was crucial to a balanced budget. At the time, there were many local government officials calling for welfare reform strictly on fiscal grounds. Reagan made a broader appeal, questioning the underlying premise of welfare as President Bill Clinton would do a generation later. In Reagan's view, welfare was as harmful to those who received it as it was to the taxpayer. "Our goal must be to reform and restructure the entire welfare system," Reagan said.

Reagan had promised welfare reform in his re-election campaign, and Meese had gone to work on it even earlier. On August 4, 1970, a confidential memo drafted by Meese was sent under Reagan's name to members of the governor's cabinet and senior staff. Announcing a study of the state's public assistance and education programs, the memo said: "This study will place heavy emphasis on the taxpayer as opposed to the tax-taker; on the truly needy as opposed to the lazy unemployable; on the student as opposed to educational frills; on basic needs as opposed to unmanageable enrichment programs; on measurable results as opposed to blind faith that an educator can do no wrong." The memo sought recommendations for administrative action and legislation and for pinpointing problems with federal and local governments. "I am determined to reduce these programs to essential services at a cost the tax-payers can afford to pay," the memo concluded. "This is our NUMBER ONE priority."

Reagan was determined to reform welfare, not just deplore it. The August memo was the first step in what became a focused effort. The second step was appointment of a task force of state officials and private citizens headed by Ned Hutchinson, the governor's appointments secretary. It reviewed welfare issues, concentrating on the costly and much-maligned program known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Unless AFDC was curbed, the task force and Verne Orr agreed, a huge tax increase would be necessary in fiscal 1972.

Governor Reagan signs legislation circa 1972. Standing behind from left, Tony Beilenson, an unidentified official, Randy Collier, Robert Moretti and Bill Campbell. Photo courtesy of Marie Moretti.

Unchecked growth

AFDC, begun as a minor section of the Social Security Act of 1935, was designed to strengthen "mothers' pensions," which were state programs to support children whose fathers were disabled or had abandoned their families. The federal government shared the costs, but Congress left the determination of benefits to the states. Benefits were highest in states with a tradition of social legislation, such as California and New York, but they had not kept pace with inflation.

Although it was a mantra of liberal Democrats that Reagan lacked compassion for the needy, California had not raised AFDC grants a penny during Pat Brown's eight years as governor, during six of which the Democrats also controlled the Legislature. The grants hadn't been raised in Reagan's first four years, either. As a result, AFDC recipients had suffered a huge decline in real income since their last increase in 1957. The State Department of Welfare determined in 1971 that the minimum monthly income required for a subsistence existence by a family of three in San Francisco was $271. The maximum such an AFDC family could receive was $172.

What alarmed the governor and his aides was a surge in AFDC caseload. In 1963, there were 375,000 AFDC recipients in California. When Reagan took office in 1967, the number had doubled to 769,000. By December 1969, the AFDC rolls listed 1,150,687. A year later, a month after Reagan's reelection, there were 1,566,000 people on the AFDC rolls — nearly one out of every 13 Californians.

> **"... we find ourselves in a position of cutting back on the type of things people should ask of government — parks and everything else — actually cutting those to feed this welfare monster."**
> **— Ronald Reagan**

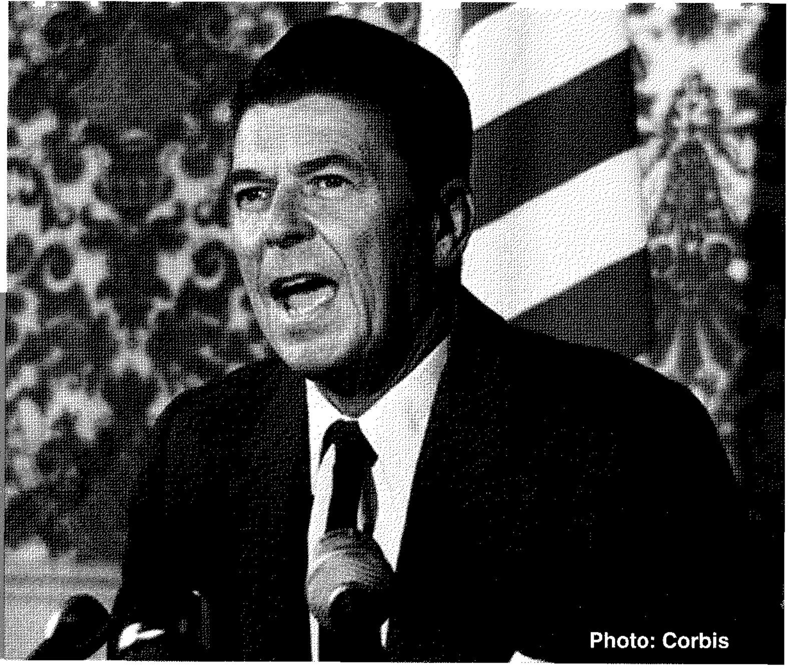


Photo: Corbis

Caseload was increasing by 40,000 a month, and Orr warned that a continued increase of this magnitude would bust the budget in 1972. Reagan conceded after the election that the deepening recession had contributed to the problem.

"But the big villain that has kept virtually all of our savings from being returned to the people in reduced cost of government is the thirty-five-year heritage of welfare programs that are out of control," Reagan said in a December 16, 1970, interview with *California Journal*. "And we find ourselves in a position of cutting back on the type of things people should ask of government — parks and everything else — actually cutting those to feed this welfare monster."

The appetite of this "monster" grew during the first two months of 1971 as the task force completed its recommendations, and Reagan joined in formulating the legislation that evolved into the California Welfare Reform Act. This was a departure from the first term, when Reagan had been content to set the tone and leave the details of legislation to aides.

Reagan planned to unveil his proposals before a joint session of the Legislature. But James Mills, the president pro tem of the Senate, and Assembly Speaker Robert (Bob) Moretti, the new Democratic leaders of the Legislature, took the unprecedented step of denying the request. Their weak rationale for this rejection was that the governor was making only general proposals that had not yet been incorporated into a bill. The real reason was that Mills and Moretti realized that welfare was a potent issue and they didn't want to give Reagan a platform. But their clumsy strategy gave the governor an excuse to go over the heads of the Legislature.

Reagan made the most of this opportunity. He sent his welfare-reform proposals in writing to the Legislature and presented them in person on March 3 at Town Hall, a luncheon group in Los Angeles. The event was billed as "the speech the Legislature didn't want to hear" and attracted more television coverage than Reagan would have received had he been permitted to speak to the Legislature. Reagan began with a typical quip. He said he had been asked if his honeymoon with the Democratic-controlled Legislature was over. "I'm not sure it ever started," he said. "On the wedding night someone said something about stepping into the next room to slip into something comfortable — and they never came back."

The governor's welfare plan, most of it culled from recommendations of the Hutchinson task force, called for 70 legislative and administrative changes and was described by Reagan as the "lengthiest, most detailed and specific legislative proposal ever originated by a California governor."

The four goals of the Reagan program were to "increase assistance to the truly needy who have nowhere else to turn to meet their basic needs," to require those who were able to work to seek a job or job training, to place Medi-Cal benefits on the same footing as health benefits for those not on the program, and to "strengthen family responsibility as the basic element in our society."

Public response was favorable. Thousands of letters calling for enactment of the Reagan plan poured into legislative offices and newspapers, the latter reinforced by editorials calling for reform. Democratic legislative leaders were unmoved. Ignoring the fact that the AFDC rolls had been rising even before the economic downturn, they blamed soaring welfare caseloads on the recession. Democrats conceded that the rising caseload posed a fiscal problem for the state, but their preferred solution was a federal takeover of the system.

(Ironically, this also was the solution initially favored by the Nixon Administration. Reagan, alone among Republican governors, opposed the president's proposal, known as the Family Assistance Plan. Reagan's attention was diverted for a time over a dispute with the Nixon Administration, and an unfavorable court decision on retroactive benefits for recipients, which nearly resulted in a cut off of federal funding for AFDC. But Reagan was able to negotiate an agreement with Nixon's Health, Education

Far left: Reagan at a 1966 press conference soon after becoming governor in 1966. Left: Robert Moretti pictured in the early 1970s.

Photo: Anna Fontana. Courtesy of Marie Moretti.

> **What Reagan and Moretti had in common, in addition to competitive determination, was a desire for results. Though they didn't go around quoting Voltaire, they recognized the validity of his dictum that "the best is the enemy of the good."**

and Welfare Agency [HEW] that averted a crisis.)

After the concordat with Nixon, Reagan turned his attention to the Legislature, where it was stalemate as usual. Reagan's welfare plan was buried in committee. His proposed budget, which he sought to balance by eliminating the traditional open-ended welfare appropriation, was buried with it. Democrats accused Reagan of conducting government by press release, while Republicans denounced Democrats as obstructionists who had no plan of their own. By June, the legislative session appeared headed for a train wreck. Reagan could not significantly change the welfare system without cooperation from the Democratic-controlled Legislature, which didn't have the votes to pass a bill over Reagan's veto. The Democrats couldn't shape the budget, either, for Reagan stood ready to use his line-item veto power, as he had demonstrated in every budget of his first term.

Breaking the impasse

The impasse was broken by an unanticipated demonstration of leadership from Bob Moretti. Moretti, brash and energetic, was a young man in a hurry, almost as if he realized that he was short of time. His father was born in Italy, and his mother was of Armenian descent. They lived in a poor section of Detroit but moved to Los Angeles while Bob Moretti was a teenager. He attended a Catholic high school and then was an honors student at Notre Dame, from which he graduated with a degree in accounting. John F. Kennedy inspired him to go into politics. Moretti and a brother attended the 1960 Democratic National Convention where Kennedy was nominated for president. "Bobby came back with hats and pennants and banners and all this excitement about Kennedy," recalled his sister, Marie Moretti. "He was hooked."

For Catholic kids like Moretti, Kennedy had broken down barriers that would never be reconstructed again. Moretti, a tough-talker who sounded as if he came right off the streets, met the world with a smile on his face and a purpose in his heart. While generally liberal in politics, he had a low opinion of ideologues of any sort. Details bored him almost as much as they did Reagan. And like Reagan, he dreamed of becoming president. At the age of twenty-eight, Moretti was elected to the Assembly, where he operated on a private code of personal trust, never giving or asking for commitments in writing. Soon after he was elected, Jesse Unruh's chief of staff asked him to sign a pledge of support. Moretti refused. "If my word isn't good enough for you, to hell with you," he said.

During the two years of Republican control of the Assembly in 1969 and 1970, as Unruh became preoccupied with running for governor, Moretti emerged as Reagan's most effective opponent in the Assembly. Long before the Democrats reorganized the Assembly in 1971, he had lined up the support necessary to win the speakership. But apart from the distinction of being, at thirty-four, the youngest speaker in history, Moretti had little to show for his victory. During the early months of 1971, he found himself on the short end of a running rhetorical battle with Reagan. Neither the speaker nor the governor appeared to have a clue about what to do next.

What Reagan and Moretti had in common, in addition to competitive determination, was a desire for results. Though they didn't go around quoting Voltaire, they recognized the validity of his dictum that "the best is the enemy of the good." Moretti represented a middle-class district in the San Fernando Valley where his constituents had become impatient with the posturing of the Legislature and the governor. Welfare costs were out of hand, and voters wanted action.

At this point in their careers, Moretti and Reagan were blessed with aides who were willing to tell them what they needed to know. Bill Hauck, the speaker's thoughtful chief of staff, suggested to Moretti that he take the initiative.

"This blasting back and forth has become debilitating to both of you," Hauck said to Moretti one day in June, when the prospects for legislative action looked particularly hopeless. On June 28, 1971, Hauck wrote and Moretti signed a letter to Reagan that proposed "that we set aside our personal and philosophical disagreements and work to assure the people that our state will prosper. As we have both said publicly on a number of occasions this year, if we

Ronald Reagan with his legislative director, George Steffes. Photo courtesy of George Steffes.

do not act positively on at least a few of our major state issues the people of California will properly hold us all accountable." Moretti proposed, "in the spirit of reasonable compromise and agreement," an immediate meeting with Reagan. Hauck wanted the meeting on the same day because he knew that there were those in the governor's office who would oppose it.

Downstairs in the corner office of the governor, Reagan legislative liaison George Steffes had been waiting to hear from Moretti. He and Hauck were friends, and they had explored ideas for ending the deadlock. Steffes had the tougher task in selling a summit meeting because several of Reagan's advisers, including Welfare Director Robert Carleson, were reluctant to compromise. But Steffes knew that the governor wanted action, and he believed that Moretti was also serious, in part because the speaker wanted to establish a record on which he could run for governor. Soon after Steffes received the letter, he called Hauck and asked him when Moretti would release it to the press. "We're not," Hauck told him. "He wants to get something started and the condition for starting it is that the two of them meet alone with no one there." Steffes said he would get back to him.

Moretti wasn't sure that Reagan would respond. He had a low opinion of Reagan and believed that the governor felt the same way about him. "I shared an image of him as a pitch man who was a good communicator, who was more interested in selling himself and his administration than he was in accomplishment," Moretti said. "We knew how powerful he was when he was on the media, that he did have a good way of persuading people. We thought that he either exaggerated or stressed unimportant points to get something across. But he was the governor, and it was get together or do nothing."

In the governor's office, there was never a debate about whether Reagan should respond positively to Moretti's overture. The only question was if he should do it alone. Some aides thought the speaker might be setting a trap. Steffes pressed for the meeting on Moretti's terms. Meese weighed the arguments. Reagan listened and decided on a private meeting. It would have been surprising if he had reached any other conclusion, for Reagan was confident of his negotiating skills and impatient to crack what until then had been a united front of Democratic resistance to his welfare proposals. He told Steffes to accept the offer. Late that afternoon, Steffes called Hauck and asked if Moretti could come down within the hour.

What do you want?

Moretti never forgot his first private meeting with Reagan, whom he had seen previously only on ceremonial or social occasions. "I remember he was sitting at his desk and there was a chair right off to the right where I sat and he said, 'Yeah, what do you want to talk to me about?' And I said, 'Look, governor, I don't like you particularly and I know you don't like me but we don't have to be in love to work together. If you're serious about doing some things, then let's sit down and start doing it."

Reagan had a more stylized recollection of the meeting, which he incorporated into an anecdote he later used on the campaign trail. The point of the anecdote was that Reagan took his case to the people when the Legislature blocked his programs. As a result, he often said, legislators who refused to "see the light" instead were made to "feel the heat." In Reagan's telling of the story, a Democratic leader (he rarely mentioned Moretti by name) came to him on the welfare bill and said, "Stop those cards and letters from coming."

It is quite possible that Moretti said this or something like it, for that was the way he talked. But if he did, it was not because he felt vulnerable to any pressure that Reagan could generate. Moretti was fearless. He went to Reagan because he could see no other way to break the impasse with the governor. What surprised him was that Reagan was as genuinely interested in a productive outcome as he was. Reagan was not similarly surprised. He had one mode of behavior for campaigning and another for negotiating. When he gave a stump speech, Reagan used his adversaries as straight men to set up his punch lines. When he negotiated, he took them seriously and tried to get the best deal he could. The secrecy of Moretti's overture convinced Reagan that it was genuine. Within a few minutes, he reached an agreement with Moretti to hold a series of meetings in an effort to reach a welfare accord.

Although this meeting was an epiphany for both Reagan and Moretti, it was only the first step on an arduous path of negotiation that lasted nearly two weeks and involved many participants. During the negotiations, Reagan and Moretti swore at each other and questioned the other's motivations but also gradually developed a mutual respect. Reagan came to regard Moretti as tough and principled, likening him to the negotiators he'd faced in his Screen Actors Guild days. Once, when an aide expressed doubt that Moretti would do something he promised to do, Reagan said, "He gave me his word."

Moretti also changed his opinion of Reagan. "Both he and I developed a grudging respect for each other," Moretti said. "We came from different kinds of worlds. I don't think that socially we'd ever have mixed, but when the governor gave a commitment he kept it, and when I gave a commitment, I kept it. So that working on the development of legislation with him was relatively easy because we always knew where the other guy stood."

This rapport between Reagan and Moretti opened the door for the constructive efforts of Senator Anthony Beilenson (D-Beverly Hills), the author of the pioneer abortion-rights legislation passed during Reagan's first year in office. In the interim, Beilenson had been involved in every battle to reform the Senate, where he had an unassailable record of integrity.

In the early months of 1971, while Reagan and Moretti were still denouncing one another in press releases, Beilenson did the heavy lifting on welfare reform. As chairman of the Senate Health and Welfare Committee, he conducted a series of hearings on the governor's plan, conferring often with his friend Clair Burgener (R-San Diego), Republican point man for welfare in the Senate. Beilenson was a consistent liberal who thought that welfare payments were inadequate. He recognized nonetheless that Republican concern about welfare fraud was genuine even though he believed Reagan exaggerated the problem. The bill that emerged from Beilenson's committee became the blueprint for the final compromise on welfare reform. That was because Beilenson had made himself knowledgeable on the complex details of welfare legislation and because Moretti had told him he would back him up on anything he did. Beilenson put into the bill a provision for job training for welfare recipients similar to a measure Reagan had vetoed the year before. He added other provisions for day-care centers and cost-of-living increases for welfare recipients. "The governor wanted a

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Now you know how effective it is to "Just Say No!" especially on something as controversial as teen sex. Polls show more than half of 17-year-olds in California say they're sexually active, yet fewer than one-third of California teens know they can legally access Emergency Contraception without a prescription.

To the Contrary, the PBS program focusing on all issues affecting women, children, families and communities of color, is devoting a special segment to California's law, one of the first in the nation, making Emergency Contraception more accessible. To learn more, tune into this special edition of **To the Contrary** at the following dates and times:

KCET Los Angeles, Saturday September 20th @1pm
KQED San Francisco, Sunday September 21st @3:00 pm
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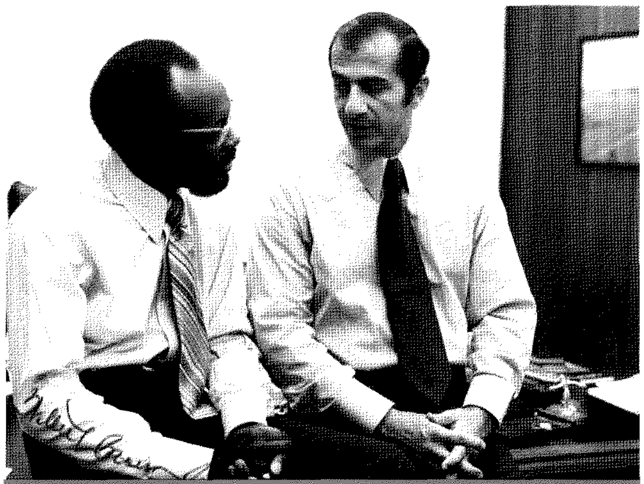
This special edition of **To the Contrary** *is funded by a grant from The California Wellness Foundation*



Willie Brown and Robert Moretti in the early '70s. Courtesy of Marie Moretti.

bill he could call welfare reform, and we gave him one," said Beilenson. In Beilenson's view, Reagan cared little about the bill's actual contents, but the same could have been said about Moretti.

Still, it was the governor and the speaker who hammered out the compromise on welfare reform. It took five days of intense negotiation at meetings presided over by Reagan and Moretti, followed by six days of additional negotiations where details were resolved by Reagan's staff and legislators. Some days, the negotiations would start at nine in the morning and last into the night. The key negotiators, in addition to Reagan and Moretti, were Meese, Carleson, Steffes, and Earl Brian for the governor, and Beilenson and Assemblymen John Burton and Leo McCarthy for the speaker. The Reagan team was suspicious of Burton, a blunt-spoken liberal. Recognizing this, Moretti arranged for Burton to feign angry outbursts and to pronounce provisions Carleson wanted as unacceptable. The Democrats could not stand Carleson, whom Moretti said "would drive the Pope to drink in a couple of weeks." Carleson, later the U.S. commissioner of welfare during the Reagan presidency, knew more about welfare regulations than anyone else on the Reagan team but posed a problem in the negotiations because the Democrats did not trust him. "He would give a 40-page answer to a question that demanded a yes or no, and a yes or no when something demanded 40 pages," Steffes said. "He drove Tony Beilenson, who was a good guy, crazy. Tony walked out on the negotiations at one point; I had to get him back. He played a big role in the final settlement."

Respect for Meese

The other person who played a big role was Meese, who won the respect of the Democratic negotiators as the administration official who spoke most reliably for the governor. "He's a very intelligent guy with a stick-to-itiveness that can sometimes drive you up the wall," Moretti said of Meese. "But were I in the governor's seat, I would like to have someone like that on my side."

Meese had more than "stick-to-itiveness." While affable in manner, he had a realistic sense of how the game of politics was played in Sacramento and was willing to do what it took to win. Not everyone in the Senate was as high-minded as Beilenson. As Meese's painstaking notes of the meetings show, other senators expected something in return for their votes. On one Meese note about a myriad of details on the welfare bill are jotted the words, "RR: quid pro quo for welf reform out of Senate committee." Following are the names of three Democratic senators who were notorious for trading their votes for appointments. It was through such careful attention to backroom politics that the Reagan program finally prevailed in a Senate more accustomed to payoffs than idealism.

The California Welfare Reform Act (CWRA) of 1971 was a seminal achievement of the Reagan governorship. As the product of a compromise, it necessarily contained something for everyone; what made the law distinctive was that it incorporated many of the best features of both Republican and Democratic welfare proposals. The biggest beneficiaries were honest welfare recipients. Eighty percent had their grants increased. The San Francisco family of three that had been getting a maximum of $172 a month at the beginning of the year received $235 after the cost-of-living increase and passage of the welfare bill.

(Reagan and Moretti earned editorial praise for their statesmanship and subsequently used the foundation built during negotiations over welfare reform to craft and pass other major legislation. Their most notable achievement was a 1972 agreement to provide property tax relief and increase school financing.)

Reagan and Moretti had more escapes than Houdini during the protracted negotiations, off-stage maneuvering, and public politicking that produced the California Welfare Reform Act and the package of school financing and tax relief contained in Senate Bill 90. Neither of them could have done what they did without the other. Together, they were unstoppable. In the process of these negotiations, Moretti changed his mind about Reagan. He decided he was a good governor ("better than Pat Brown, miles, and planets, and universes better than Jerry Brown") who made the most of his opportunities.[43]

"He had certain assets," Moretti said. "One, he had a philosophy that he was willing to pursue, that he was willing to enunciate, that he was willing to attempt to push. And, secondly, he's a strong personality. Leaders are people who are willing to take positions and stand up and fight for those positions. [Reagan] had an enduring desire to accomplish something, to leave something behind that really improved things."

Because of Moretti's cooperation, Reagan was able to write a record of accomplishment in California on which he could run for president.

Moretti ran for governor in 1974 but failed to win the Democratic nomination. He died of a heart attack on May 12, 1984, while playing tennis with a legislator. He was forty-seven years old.

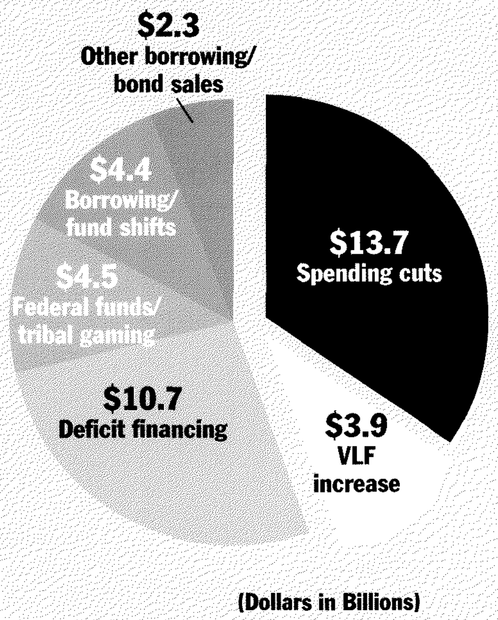
Lou Cannon is a former Washington Post *reporter and a contributing editor to* California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

Finally, a budget

At the end of a tempestuous budget cycle that lasted nearly a month after California's fiscal year ended, Speaker Herb Wesson (D-Culver City) "locked down" the Assembly chambers to get a deal done soon after Senate leaders John Burton (D-San Francisco) and Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga) brokered a deal in the Senate. In the end, Republicans wouldn't waiver on their key premise of this session — that they would not vote to raise taxes in any form. That effectively meant that over half of the $38.2 billion budget deficit would be balanced using fund shifts, loans, deficit financing and other one-time solutions. While budget cuts amounted to only $13.7 billion, the cuts were still substantial, even to education. K-12 spending was cut $288 million — or $180 per pupil. California college budgets — both in the University of California and the California State University — were slashed $293 million, which will prompt the systems to raise fees and turn away students. The only new tax figured in the budget was a $3.9 billion increase in the vehicle license fee. But the VLF tax, in the weeks after Governor Gray Davis signed the budget, was rethought in the wake of the effort to recall Davis. Because of the lack of compromise in the budget between Republicans and Democrats and their reliance on one-time solutions, approximately $8 billion — over a fifth — of the deficit was pushed into next year, according to the legislative analyst. Where Davis in his May revise suggested borrowing $10.7 billion and paying it back over five years with a new half-cent sales tax, the Legislature decided instead to issue deficit bonds that will be paid back by shifting revenues between cities, counties and schools. Also, the budget deal assumes California will receive $680 million from tribal gaming.

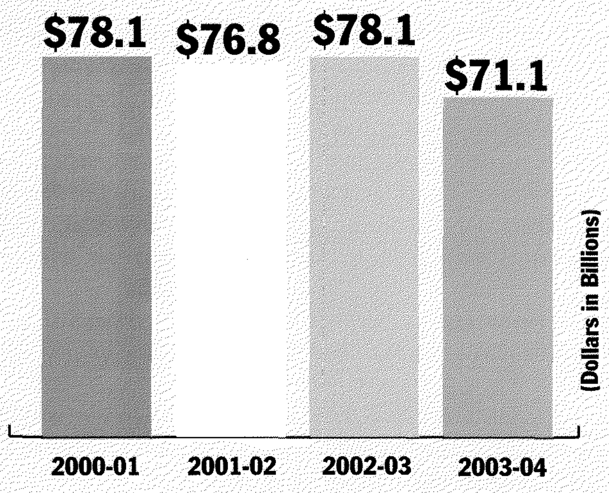
How they cut $38.2 billion

Lawmakers relied on financial gimmicks such as deficit financing and borrowing. The action actually provided a $1.4 billion reserve this year, but the legislative analyst says the state will be $8 billion in the red in 2004-05.



General fund by fiscal year

California's general fund shrunk $7 billion from 2002-03 to 2003-04. Included in the cuts were the Technology, Trade and Commerce Agency and much of the Arts Council.



General fund expenditures by agency

Almost every agency was expected to carry some of the burden of California's deficit, including education.

	2002-03	2003-04
Legislative, Judicial, Executive	$2,486	$2,406
State & Consumer Services	480	444
Business, Transportation & Housing	211	512
Technology, Trade & Commerce	46	8
Resource	1,243	865
Environmental Protection	174	97
Health & Human Services	23,150	23,358
Youth & Adult Correctional	5,833	5,644
K-12 Education	29,469	29,318
Higher Education	9,543	8,679
Labor & Workforce Development	177	116
General Government	5,330	-310
Total	**$78,142**	**$71,137**

(Dollars in Millions)

The accidental pres

Richard C. Atkinson wasn't the first choice to be named president of the University of California system. But as he retires this month after eight years in office, Atkinson will be the fifth longest serving president, which is particularly significant because he stepped in at a time of controversy and oversaw a period of dramatic change.

By Pamela Burdman

There was turmoil, not fanfare, when the self-effacing white-haired scientist was installed in the president's office eight years ago.

The University of California was still recovering from damaging revelations about compensation practices and the budget crisis of the early 1990s. The governing Board of Regents had determined to choose a new UC president from outside California to renew the institution's luster, but its top choice, Gordon Gee of Ohio State University, dropped out at the 11th hour. And then a controversial vote by the regents to ban affirmative action programs fractured the university and threw a wrench into the regents' hopes of attracting an outsider.

One top internal candidate, Berkeley chancellor Chang-Lin Tien, lost support from the board's Republican majority due to his outspoken opposition to the affirmative action vote. And so, seemingly as a last resort, the regents named UC San Diego Chancellor Richard C. Atkinson the 17th president of the University of California system.

There was nothing second-rate about Atkinson, who retires this month. The regents picked a man with impeccable credentials, a nationally-known cognitive psychologist whose research earned numerous distinctions and won him admission to the National Academy of Sciences at a young age. As co-author, with his wife Rita, of a top-selling psychology textbook and a developer of one of the first computer-assisted instruction systems, his work had also been financially lucrative. He directed the National Science Foundation under President Jimmy Carter before coming to San Diego, where, under his leadership, the campus doubled in size and became one of the top five universities in federal research funding.

Still, he was a compromise choice. He had served 15 years at San Diego, he was already 66, and many expected him to play a brief caretaker role similar to the three-year stint of his predecessor, Jack Peltason.

Just a few months into the job, Atkinson's tenure nearly became the briefest of any UC president when then-Governor Pete Wilson and his allies on the board threatened to fire

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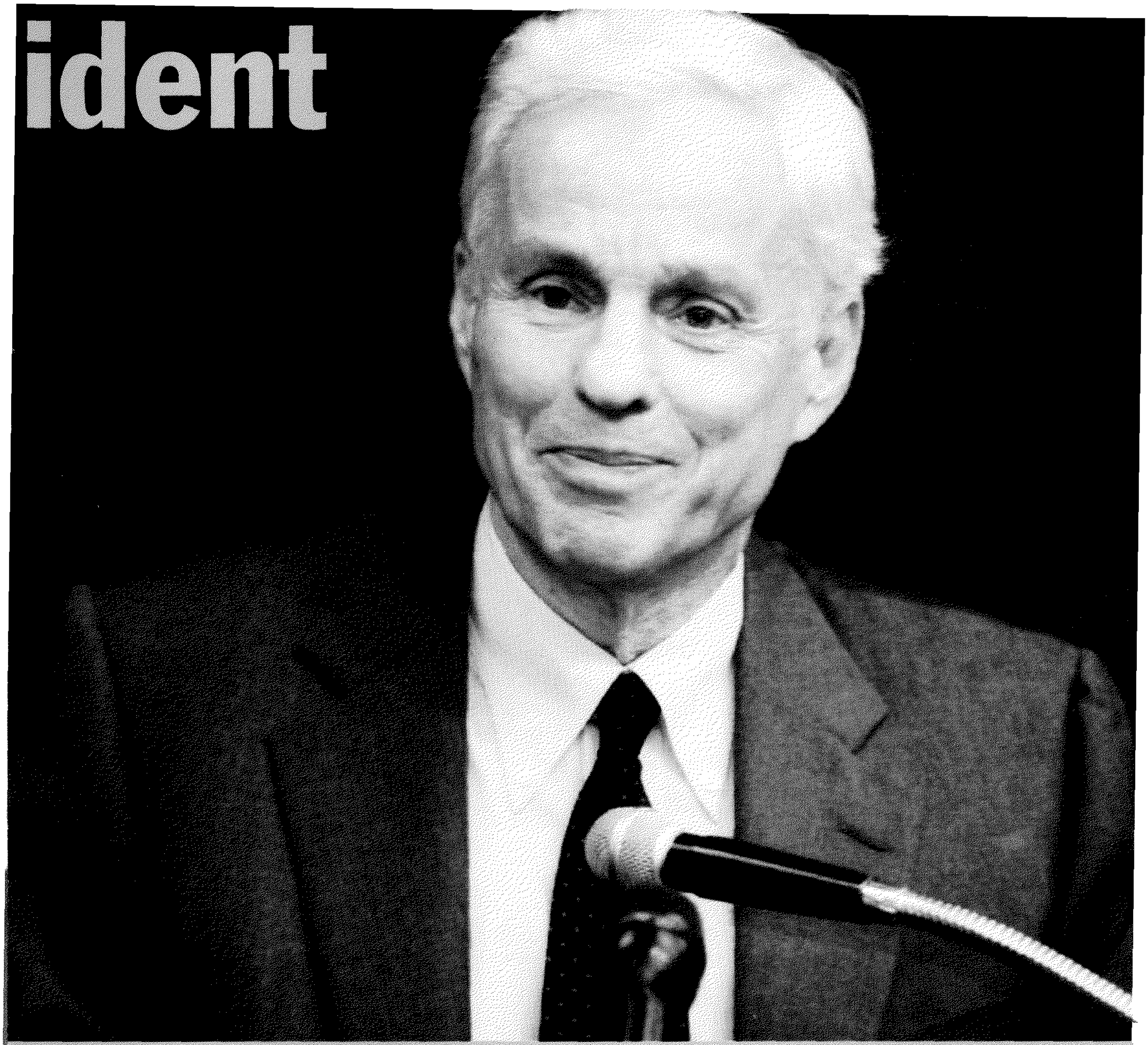


UC President Richard Atkinson announces his retirement at a press conference in San Francisco last Novemb
Photos in this article are courtesy of the University of California Office of the President.

him for daring to fiddle with the regents' timeline for phasing out affirmative action.

Ultimately, Atkinson's presidency turned out to be longer than even he had planned, the fifth longest of any UC president. In 2001, when he intended to serve only one more year, Governor Gray Davis pressed him to stay on. Atkinson delayed his retirement to October 1, 2003, and waited until after Davis' re-election last November to announce it.

He also accomplished more and had more influence than the feud with Wilson and other early stutter-steps would have predicted. "I think he has been one of the most effective presidents in the last 30 years, but he didn't start out that way," said Bill Pickens, a former head of the California Postsecondary Education Commission

"He's grown into the job," said Barry Munitz, president of the J. Paul Getty Trust and former chancellor of California State University. "He learned how to politick and negotiate more effectively with the board and the legislative leadership."

On Atkinson's watch, the university broke ground in Modesto for its first new campus in 40 years. Eleven faculty members received Nobel Prizes, more than under any other president. And the number of campuses elected to the American Association of Universities, an organization of the nation's leading research institutions, rose from four to six, three times more than any other state.

That seven of his eight years in the presidency were

President Atkinson with the newly selected president, UC San Diego Chancellor Robert C. Dynes, June 2003.

marked by budget bounty also contributed to his success, and he became extremely adept at negotiating budgets with the governor. Atkinson, who had first met Davis in the 1980s when Davis was chief of staff to Governor Jerry Brown, enjoyed a better relationship with Davis than many in Sacramento.

"The governor's not the easiest person to negotiate with," noted Karl Pister, former chancellor at UC Santa Cruz. "Dick was very conscious of the need not to provoke the governor. Some people will say he went too far, and others will say he should have gone further. I happen to think he managed the balancing act very adroitly."

A key component of Atkinson's agenda was repairing the damage done to the university by the affirmative action battle and demonstrating the university's commitment to access for a broad cross-section of students around the state. "I would argue that the future of the University of California depends on it," he said. But he had to operate within the constraints first of the university's race-blind policy, and then Proposition 209, the successful ballot measure that banned affirmative action in government.

Atkinson's response, including a series of programs to expand access, form a hallmark of his presidency. Among the reforms:

- In an attempt to ensure better college preparation at some of the state's most troubled high schools, the university embarked on a vast experiment in outreach to K-12 schools, plunking more than $300 million a year at one point into an array of mentorship programs, partnerships and teacher training institutes around the state.
- The university adopted a plan that guarantees a spot in the UC system for students who take the right set of courses and graduate in the top 4 percent of their high school class.
- The Board of Regents, eventually stacked with Davis appointees, voted to rescind the controversial affirmative action ban. With Proposition 209 in effect, the vote was a symbolic one designed to assure minority students that they were welcome in the UC system.
- Following the lead of campuses such as Berkeley and UCLA, the UC system implemented a "comprehensive review" system for all undergraduate campuses, ensuring that each student receives an individual assessment that goes far beyond simply tallying up grades and test scores.

Atkinson was squarely behind all of those changes, but more than anything, he will go down in history as the man who almost single-handedly reformed the national college entry exam, the SAT. An expert in the field of classroom learning, he surprised the educational establishment with his call to abandon the test at a Washington,

> **"He's not a warm and fuzzy guy at all, but he doesn't beat around the bush. He's got a reflective nature to him and he's very strong on his values."**
>
> **— Bill Pickens, California Postsecondary Education Commission**

D.C. meeting of the American Council on Education in early 2001, electrifying a usually staid crowd of 400 or 500 college and university presidents.

"He received repeated applause during his address and a long, relentless standing ovation at the end of it," recalled Stanley Ikenberry, then chair of ACE. "He had tapped into concern about ... the injustice and irrationality of the way in which we assess merit in higher education."

Atkinson told the crowd that "Anyone involved in education should be concerned about how overemphasis on the SAT is distorting educational priorities and practices. ... how the test is perceived by many as unfair, and how it can have a devastating impact on the self-esteem and aspirations of young students. In many ways, we are caught up in the educational equivalent of a nuclear arms race."

Atkinson recommended replacing the exam with one that tests the material students learn in school instead of attempting to measure "undefined notions of 'aptitude' or 'intelligence'."

Ultimately, however, the SAT was replaced with a new SAT. After initially defending the test, the College Board, which prepares the exam, decided to modify it rather than lose its business in a state that represents 12 percent of the test's market. A new version of the test, which will include a writing portion but eliminates "coachable" sections like verbal analogies, will be taken by students across the country beginning in 2005. Now, College Board officials are lavishing praise on Atkinson for the changes.

"I certainly don't think they would have happened as quickly as they happened without him, and maybe they wouldn't have happened at all. He was the catalyst," said Gaston Caperton, the former West Virginia governor who leads the College Board.

But others say Atkinson ultimately bowed to pressure from faculty and administrators to keep a test that still contains many of the flaws he had criticized. "What started out as a very strong and very sincere initiative by President Atkinson was severely watered down by the realities of California politics," said Robert Schaeffer, spokesman for an anti-SAT organization called FairTest.

Along with the whole package of reforms, the modified SAT won easy favor with a board newly reshaped by Gray Davis, including grudging support from Ward Connerly, the regent who sponsored the anti-affirmative action vote. "The main thing that Dick Atkinson has done is to effectively redefine merit," Connerly said.

Still, despite all of the changes, UC's more selective campuses — Berkeley, UCLA and San Diego — have not been able to admit significant numbers of black and Latino students under the race-blind policies. Atkinson highlighted the troubling situation last April in a *Washington Post* opinion piece entitled "Diversity — Not There Yet."

While such concerns continue, the turmoil that characterized his early days on the job has died down. "I don't think he created the problem, I don't think he can be expected to solve it, but I think he played the most constructive role he could in one of the most highly politicized issues in the modern history of the university," said Pat Callan, director of the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education in San Jose.

It could have turned out differently. Though widely viewed as brilliant, his guileless and absent-minded manner are the stuff of public relations officers' nightmares. He tells reporters to make up his quotes, strays from his prepared remarks and retracts statements printed up by his press office. He thinks quickly and grows impatient when others aren't keeping up. But what he lacks in polish, he makes up in straight-talking sincerity, and many regents, politicians, and people who worked under him grew to trust him for this.

"He's not a warm and fuzzy guy at all, but he doesn't beat around the bush. He's got a reflective nature to him and he's very strong on his values," said Pickens, the former head of the California Postsecondary Education Commission.

He also adapted well to the behind-the-scenes nature of the president's job, which is quite different from the campus chancellors. He tolerates the limelight, but he's happy to share it, and he grew increasingly comfortable developing ideas together with faculty members or letting his lieutenants articulate his initiatives. He even relinquished his area of greatest authority by giving campus chancellors more control over their budgets.

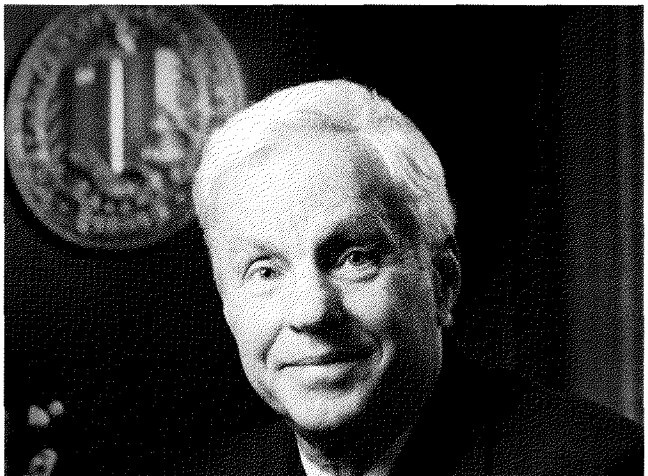
It may be through the chancellors that he will leave his strongest imprint on the university. He filled all but two of the 10 chancellor posts and won wide praise for his hires, including M.R.C. Greenwood, a previous Clinton administration science official who was placed at UC Santa Cruz; Robert Berdahl, former president of the University of Texas at Austin, at UC Berkeley; Albert Carnesale, Harvard's former provost, at UCLA; and Nobel Prize-winning medical researcher Michael Bishop at UC San Francisco.

His faith in his staff led to some failures as well. Atkinson professes to having had doubts about the 1997 merger of UCSF and Stanford's four teaching hospitals, which had been advanced as a way to protect the quality of academic medicine against the market pressures of managed care. But after the joint venture lost $86 million and rival faculty chiefs failed to share power, the institutions agreed to separate.

"It was a misadventure," Atkinson says today. "But I did as extensive an analysis as you could do. If I'd not done it, every problem in the hospital would have been blamed on me for not permitting the merger to go forward."

Atkinson also had to answer when the university's three national laboratories came under scrutiny, first because of spying charges against nuclear weapons scientist Wen Ho Lee and again, earlier this year, because of a financial mismanagement scandal at the Los Alamos nuclear lab. Atkinson calls most of the accusations false and said "political machinations are to blame."

"I think it's a sad day in the history of this country that politics are intervening in this matter," he said. "I've been told by people in industry that we should have made political contributions to fend some of this off. The problem is that at the University of California, we can't make political contributions."



Richard Atkinson

Career

Professor of Psychology, Standord University, 1956-1980

Director, National Science Foundation, 1977-1980

Chancellor, UC San Diego, 1980-1995

President, University of California, 1995-2003

Personal

Wife, Rita Atkinson. Daughter, Lynn.

But perhaps the most severe crisis to affect Atkinson's tenure is coming at its denouement. As in most states, California's universities are showered with money in prosperous years and starved during economic downturns, even though it is during the downturns that more students return to school and more need financial aid.

Though Atkinson had what he calls "seven glorious years," he departs the university at a particularly precarious time. In one year, the university lost about 10 percent of its state-funded budget, dropping from $3.22 billion to $2.9 billion. Staff and faculty are receiving no raises, and student fees are rising by 30 percent to make up $230 million of the shortfall. UC Merced will open in 2005, instead of 2004, and the Legislature is promising no additional funding for enrollment increases in 2004-2005.

Continuing budget problems could end up dooming some of Atkinson's initiatives. One piece of his admissions reform package — a dual admissions program aimed at encouraging more community college students to transfer to UC — has yet to receive funding. And state spending on K-12 outreach programs, which once topped $180 million, will fall to just $43 million.

More dire budget news could complicate plans for the Merced campus, which was envisioned during more prosperous times. "Can [Merced] have the aspirations of a major research university without coming at the expense of San Diego and Berkeley and UCLA?" asks Callan, of the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education. "Is there going to be enough money to do all of that and to protect access?"

Access is indeed the bottom line, and it may be up to the next president's political brinkmanship to protect it. After the Legislature predicted there would be no additional funds for enrollment increases in 2004-05, UC officials said they would freeze enrollment even in the face of an expected "tidal wave" of baby boomer offspring. For the first time ever, then, UC's doors would not be open to all eligible students, abandoning the university's traditional mission and eroding much of the progress Atkinson made on access and diversity. "If capping enrollment becomes a long-term way to deal with financial problems, it could have as least as negative an impact on minorities as the affirmative action decision," said Callan.

The dilemma is not lost on Atkinson, who realizes that the fate of many of his projects will be in the hands of his successor, current UC San Diego Chancellor Robert Dynes. On October 1, it will be Dynes' turn to learn how to fight that battle with the governor. And it can't be much comfort to either Dynes or Atkinson that no one yet knows who that governor will be.

Pamela Burdman is a freelance writer in the Bay Area and former higher education reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle. *Comments may be sent to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

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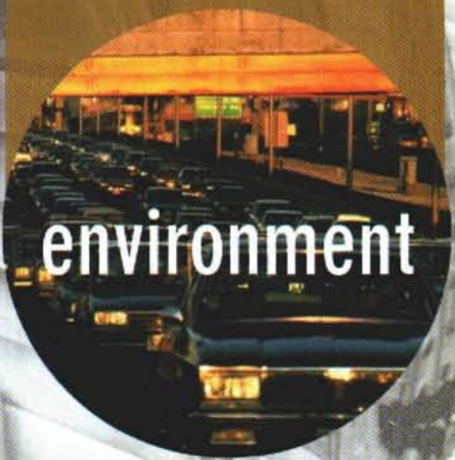
Pressure from new developmemt, budget cuts and industry demands have created a range of flashpoints that are poised to erupt next year.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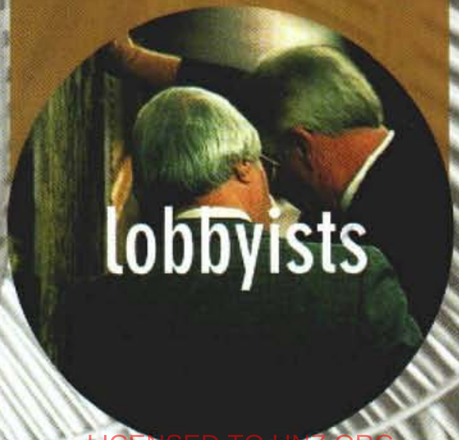
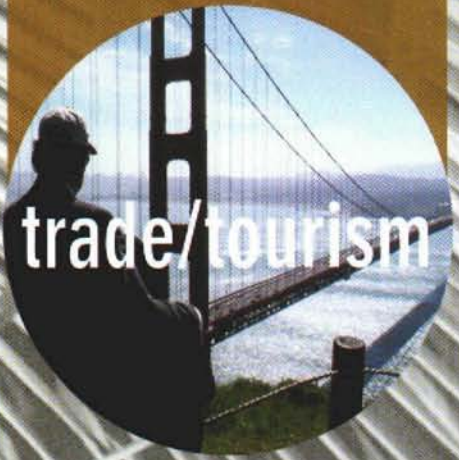


A broad look at the reach of California, the world's fifth largest economy, from the tourists it attracts to the international business that it conducts.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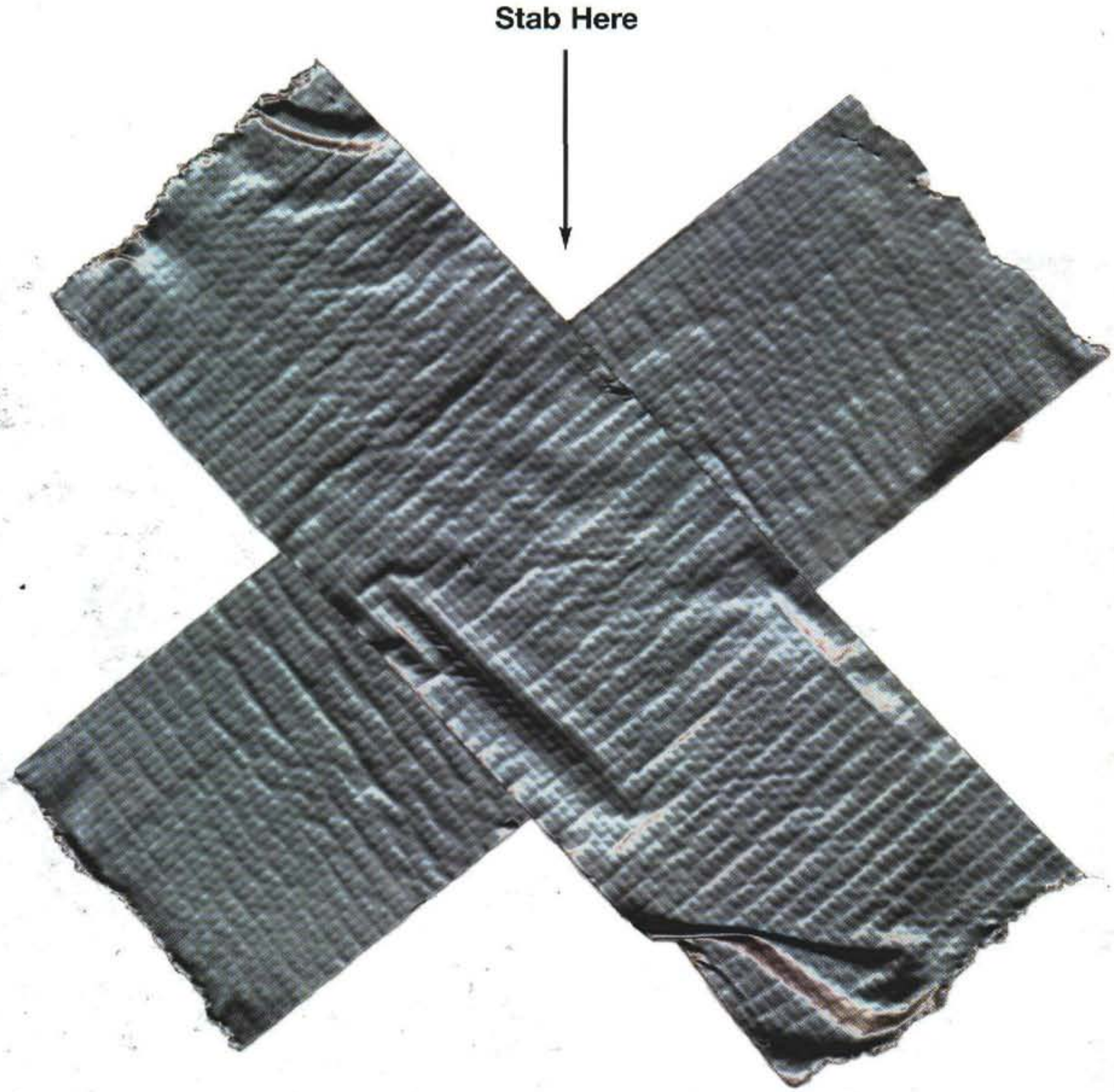

Correctional peace officers working on San Quentin's "Death Row" are wearing stab-proof vests held together with duct tape — symbolic of what's happening in prisons and youth correctional facilities throughout California.

California prisons already have the second-worst inmate-to-officer ratio in the nation and one of the highest assault rates against officers. Because of budget cuts, both will be getting worse.

Prisons and youth correctional facilities are being closed. Officer training has been cut. Safety is being compromised.

Life on "the toughest beat" is getting tougher.

California Correctional Peace Officers Association